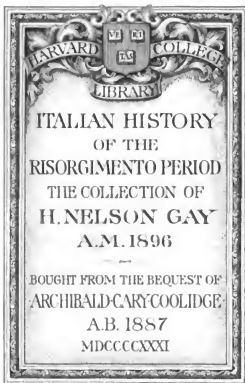




# *Life of Napoleon III.*

Edward Roth

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NAPOLÉON III.

EMPERESS EUGENIE.

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**EMPRESS EUGENIE.**





L I F E  
OF  
N A P O L E O N   I I I .

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

BY  
EDWARD ROTH.

B O S T O N :  
PUBLISHED BY PATRICK DONAHOE,  
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## PREFACE.

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THE following narrative appeared in the pages of a popular Boston weekly newspaper, the *PILOT*, where, though far from possessing any graces of style, and though necessarily containing much that is not new, it attracted attention enough to encourage the writer to present it in a more permanent form to a more varied circle of readers.

It is not without serious defects. It pretends to little or no philosophy, dry facts alone, generally, being given. Its claims to originality are just as slight; the works of well-known writers, principally French, and sometimes their language also, having been unscrupulously drawn upon; and it cannot be denied that an involuntary partiality for the subject may have often somewhat hastened the conclusions.

The writer of course believes that the facts are all relevant and authentic, that the language could

be borrowed when it perfectly expressed what himself wished to convey, and that the partiality has never led him into any undue misrepresentation; but of all this the readers alone can be the judges.

Extensive extracts from the works of Louis Napoleon are given, and all his letters of any importance, his proclamations, decrees, messages, &c., to which access could be obtained, are presented with as little curtailment as possible. These reveal the man as fully as can be expected, and at all events enable every reader to judge for himself.

However serious, then, its deficiencies may be, the book is now submitted to the public with the confident belief that it will afford every candid reader considerable assistance in forming a just idea of the merits or demerits of a personage who at present occupies the most prominent position on earth, and therefore lends at least a temporary interest to the most unpretending work connected with his name.

ST. MARY'S, Wilmington, Del., Nov., 1855.

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# LIFE OF NAPOLEON III.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Illustrious Birth of the Prince. — Queen Hortense. — Early Education. — Napoleon his Instructor. — The Invasion. — Emperor Alexander. — Death of Josephine. — Maternal Education.*

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born at Paris, April 20, 1808. He was the third son of Louis Napoleon, the King of Holland, and of Hortense Beauharnois, sister of Prince Eugene, and daughter of the Empress Josephine. The *Moniteur* of April 21st thus announced the event of his birth:—

“Yesterday morning, at one o’clock, her majesty, the Queen of Holland, was safely delivered of a prince. In conformity with article 40 of the act of the constitutions of 28 Floréal, year 12, M. the Chancellor of the empire attested the birth, and wrote immediately to the Emperor, the Empress, and the King of Holland, to communicate the intelligence. At five o’clock in the evening the act of birth was received by the arch-chancellor, assisted by his eminence, Regnault, (de St. Jean d’Angely,) minister of state, and state secretary of the imperial

family. In the absence of the emperor, the new-born prince has not yet received his name. This will be provided for him by an ulterior act, according to the orders of his majesty."

Prince Louis Napoleon was not, in fact, baptized till three years after, at the palace of Fontainebleau, by the Cardinal Fesch, when he was held at the baptismal font by the emperor himself, and the new empress, Maria Louise. He then received the name of Charles Louis Napoleon.

The eldest son of Hortense, born in 1802, was called Napoleon Louis Charles. He died in 1807. A little before the period of the coronation, in 1804, Hortense had another son, who was baptized by Pope Pius VII., under the name of Napoleon Louis. Each of these children had also had Napoleon for godfather.

The birth of Louis Napoleon, being the first that took place during the imperial régime, was celebrated with splendid fêtes and rejoicings. Throughout the whole extent of the empire, from Hamburg to Genoa, from the Danube to the Atlantic, salvos of artillery announced the event. The emperor being at that time childless, the sons of his brother Louis seemed destined one day to inherit his power and glory. "France," says an historian, "was at this moment at the summit of her greatness. The genius of Napoleon reorganized Europe, and the supremacy of the French revolution was felt by all. To give his continental power the idea of duration and stability, the emperor hailed with joy the arrival of male heirs to his political fortune. At this glorious epoch divorce from the Empress Josephine had not been thought of, even by Napoleon himself. It was as the future developers, then, of his projects, of his thoughts,

name, and power, that he regarded the children of his brothers whom the *plebiscite* of the year 12 (1804) called upon to succeed him. The Prince Louis Napoleon was for him the second heir of the empire; and accordingly his birth was hailed with the most lively acclamations of joy by the emperor and by the French people. The most brilliant honors and the solemnity of public rejoicings surrounded him at his birth."

A remarkable circumstance mentioned in the same history deserves to be related here.

A family register, destined for the children of the imperial dynasty, had been deposited with the senate, as the great book of the rights of succession. The name of the new prince, Louis, was inscribed there the first, with all the pomp of a consecration. That of the King of Rome was the second and last. Of these two princes, born amid such splendors and national sympathies, one died in exile, we do not know how; the other—the other,—we can now complete the sentence,—after proscription, incarceration, expulsion, has returned to France amidst the roar of popular acclamations: so changeable is fortune.

The Queen Hortense lived at that time in Paris, separated from her husband, whom she had been forced to marry, and whose disposition could never sympathize with her own. She dwelt in a modest mansion in the Rue Cerutti, now Lafitte. She was a woman of rare amiability and charming gentleness, learned, witty, a lover of the fine arts, especially music; moreover, indulgent towards the faults of her acquaintances, obliging and generous, she possessed all the qualities that can adorn a woman, and exalted them less by the dignity of her rank than by the graces of her person. A pupil of

Madame Campan, she had distinguished herself at the celebrated Maison d'Ecouen by her literary success, and especially by her talent for music and drawing.

Louis Napoleon, raised under the eyes of such a mother, received an early education, the wise, and at the same time severe principles of which had a powerful influence on the future of the young prince. Undoubtedly Hortense felt that, especially in such times as she lived in, true grandeur consisted only in real merit, and that it was by the heart and soul alone that a man could aspire to become any thing. Expected in course of time to reign, perhaps in Holland, perhaps elsewhere, Louis Napoleon was educated, from an early age, with little indulgence, like any child of the people. The severity of the training to which he was subjected, in order to strengthen his body as well as to develop his mind, often disquieted his grandmother, the Empress Josephine, whose idol he soon became. She could not, however, obtain any relaxation from the principles of the rigorous and manly education which Hortense had fortunately adopted.

Napoleon, absorbed in the great affairs of his reign, could hardly spare his family his hours of repast. He generally breakfasted in his cabinet, at a little table to which none were allowed except the two sons of the King of Holland. He sent for them frequently, in order to ascertain, by himself, the progress of the education, and the development of the ideas of those two young princes, on whom rested all the hopes of the *Napoleonic* future. He examined them with interest, listened with pleasure to their infant prattle, told them stories and explained their meaning; then, to exercise their intelligence, he required a clear and brief repetition of what



they had heard, and whenever he remarked in these children any displays of reason or other signs of intellectual advancement, he testified a most lively satisfaction.

When we see the great Napoleon, in all the splendor of his glory, holding in one hand the sceptre of the world, and taking in the other the professor's ferula in order to advance the education of his nephews, we are reminded of Henry IV. riding about on a cane to amuse his children. Greatness does not fall when it makes itself little for the sake of childhood.

However, Napoleon, desirous of having a direct heir, soon married the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, who gave him the offspring he so much desired. The birth of the King of Rome, however, does not appear to have altered the profound affection which he had conceived for his two nephews: he still continued to regard them as the possible perpetuators of his race and name.

We find the following anecdote in a work published in London:—

“I had been introduced to the emperor. He appeared troubled, though his voice was firm, and his thoughts clear and precise. I was listening with profound attention to his observations, when I suddenly noticed the door by which he had entered to be half open. I was moving to shut it, when all at once a child slipped into the room and approached the emperor. He was a charming boy of six or seven years, with light curly hair and expressive blue eyes. His face wore an expression of sorrow, and his whole deportment showed an emotion which he tried to restrain.

“Approaching the emperor, he knelt down before him, placed his head and hands on his knees, and commenced to weep.

“‘What is the matter, Louis?’ cried the emperor, with an accent of vexation at the interruption. ‘What are you crying for?’

“‘Sire, governess has just told me that you are going to the wars. O, don’t go! don’t go!’

“‘But why should I not go?’ asked the emperor, with a voice suddenly softened by the solicitude of his young nephew — for it was Louis Napoleon; ‘why must not I go?’ he said, passing his hand over his blond curls; ‘it is not the first time I am going to the wars. Why are you grieved? Don’t be afraid; I shall return soon.’

“‘O, dear uncle!’ exclaimed the child, still weeping, ‘the bad allies want to kill you. Let me go with you.’

“Here,” continued the narrator, “the emperor made no reply; the tenderness of the child went to his heart. He took the young prince on his knees and embraced him affectionately. He appeared deeply moved; but immediately resuming all his firmness, he called ‘Hortense!’ and as the queen came hastening in, ‘Here,’ said he, ‘take away my nephew, and reprimand his nurse severely for having exalted the sensibility of the child by her inconsiderate words. My friend,’ he added as they went away, ‘perhaps he is the hope of my race.’”

But events proceeded; the disastrous campaign of 1812 had commenced to throw a veil of mourning over the vast empire. The campaign of January, in 1813,

and the defections which were its consequence, soon shook the mighty Colossus. The crisis came. France was invaded by the armies of Europe.

In the month of December, Louis, who, since his dethronement, effected in 1810 by the incorporation of his kingdom with the French empire, had led a retired life at Gratz, in Germany, came to take refuge in Paris. On hearing of his arrival, Hortense said, "I am glad of it; my husband proves that he is a good Frenchman, by returning to his country at a moment when all Europe is let loose against her." "He is an honest man," she continued, "and if our dispositions have been unable to sympathize, it is because we had defects that could not agree. I had too much pride; I was spoiled; I thought too much of myself. With such dispositions how could I live with a man that was too suspicious?"

These few words explain the disunion that always prevailed between the two. It may be added that Hortense dimmed her numerous brilliant qualities by an obstinacy of character that was too often invincible. Her brother, Prince Eugene, often called her his *dear stubborn*.

Napoleon said of her at St. Helena, "Hortense, so good, so generous, so devoted, is not without having committed faults against her husband. However eccentric or insupportable Louis may have been, still he loved her; and, in such a case, with such great interests at stake, every woman should manage to subdue herself, and to love in return. If she had been able to do so, she would have spared herself the vexation of her lawsuits; she would have led a happier life; she would have followed her husband to Holland, and remained there. Louis would not have fled from Amsterdam; I would

not have seen myself constrained to annex his kingdom, which contributed as much as any thing else to my ruin, and many other things would have turned out differently."

In the mean time the war had collected around the capital. Hortense passed a part of every day, surrounded by her women, busily employed in making lint for the wounded, who overflowed the hospitals of Paris. These cares, however, and the fear of falling into the hands of the enemy, did not prevent her from repairing every other day to Malmaison to visit her mother.

When the council of regency had decided on the departure of the empress, Marie Louise, Hortense conceived the most violent anger, and could not refrain from expressing it. "I am incensed," she exclaimed, "at the weakness which I see. You purpose to destroy France and the emperor."

"Sister," said she to the empress, "you must be aware that by quitting Paris you neutralize its defence, and lose your crown. You make the sacrifice with much resignation."

"You are right," was all Marie Louise's reply; "but it is not my fault; the council has thus decided."

La Valette asked Hortense what she intended to do.

"I will remain at Paris," she replied; "I will share with the Parisians all chances, good or bad."

The Cossacks were approaching. Notwithstanding her husband's injunctions, Hortense persisted in remaining at Paris. "I wish I were the mother of the King of Rome," she said on several occasions. "I would inspire all with the energy I could display."

Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, colonel of the National Guard, came to her to express the general

discouragement caused by the departure of the empress and her son. "Unfortunately," she replied, "I cannot replace her, and I don't doubt that the emperor is executing manœuvres which will soon bring him here. Paris must hold out; if the National Guard is willing to defend it, tell them that I pledge myself to remain here with my children."

Regnault hastened to inform the National Guard of this determination of the queen; but the same evening he returned to give her back her pledge, as Paris could not be defended, and he pressed her immediate departure. She still hesitated, when she received a note from her husband, who demanded the children to convey them away, reminding her that if Paris were taken, the young princes might be seized as hostages. This decided her. She left Paris with her children two days before the entry of the allies, at nine o'clock in the evening; passed the night at Glatigny; thence went to Trianon, which she had to leave the same day for fear of being carried off by the enemy. On her arrival at Rambouillet, she received a new message from Louis, who, always apprehensive for the safety of his children, now sent her an express order so repair to Blois.

Here Hortense had an attack of that pride of which we have seen her so ready to accuse herself. Regarding the solicitude of her husband as a persecution, and her spirit revolting against an order which he had given in so formal a manner, "Why, I was going to Blois," she cried. "Well, since I am *ordered* to go, I will not go." And crossing the forest of Rambouillet, at the risk of falling into the hands of the Cossacks, she arrived at Navarre, whither her mother had retired.

It was a great consolation for the excellent Josephine,

to find herself thus united with her daughter and grandchildren. Many projects fluctuated in the mind of Hortense at this time. She thought for a moment of retiring to Martinique, to the plantation which still belonged to her mother. In the mean time she rented her city mansion.

On the 31st of March the allies entered Paris. Some Swedish officers occupied the hotel of Queen Hortense; but they had taken care to leave her apartment undisturbed, as if the mistress of the place had full liberty to enter it whenever she deemed proper. Being informed of this mark of respect, the queen sent her reader, Mademoiselle Cochelet, to Paris, to make inquiries. The latter received from M. de Nesselrode the most positive assurances of the protection of the Emperor Alexander, not only for Hortense, but also for her august mother, and her valiant brother, Prince Eugene. After hesitating some time, and receiving a humiliating reception from Marie Louise, whom she had gone to visit at Rambouillet, at last she returned to Paris, and found in the Emperor of Russia the kindest disposition towards herself and her mother.

It was stipulated at Fontainebleau, in the act of the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, that she should receive a revenue of 400,000 francs, and that she should take charge of the children, whilst a revenue of 200,000 francs was allotted to King Louis.

The restoration afterwards, thanks to the powerful intervention of Alexander, erected her estate, St. Leu, into a duchy; but the government of Louis XVIII. imposed weighty charges on the property of Queen Hortense. A part of the woods of St. Leu was restored to

the old proprietor, the Princee of Conde; a sum of 600,000 francs, which had been deposited by the emperor, in behalf of herself and her mother, in the hands of the receiver general of Blois, was given up to the Duke d'Angouleme; in fine, the inscription on the treasury of a million and a half francs, which Napoleon had assured to Hortense, was repealed.

Separated from her husband, stripped of the greatest part of her fortune, Hortense lived with her mother, whose residence was sometimes at Navarre, but generally at Malmaison. There she was visited by the Emperor Alexander, M. de Metternich, M. de Nesselrode, Princee Leopold, now King of Belgium, and other strangers of distinction, who all testified, with the autocrat, their admiration for the fine qualities of the princess.

One day, walking in the environs of Malmaison, they went to visit the works at Marly. Prince Eugene was one of the company. The Emperor Alexander had taken one of the children by the hand, and, too much engrossed with the boy to be cautious regarding himself, he did not perceive that his dress was on the point of being caught in the wheels. The queen, who saw the danger, saved his life by running up with a loud shriek, and pushing him quickly away from his perilous position. From that day the czar's devotion was unbounded, and he seemed to find himself nowhere so happy as at Malmaison. Rovigo, in his memoirs, says that Hortense once blamed Alexander for the part he had taken in dethroning Napoleon. But he defended himself, and assured her he had not had any thing to do with it. "The emperor," he said, "was no longer formidable to me, for two expeditions like that of Moscow

would be too much in the life of any man ; his anger could never reach me, — so I had no reason to desire his destruction. But it was not so with my allies, who, being his neighbors, had incessantly before their eyes the picture of all that had already happened, and all that they still dreaded. The Emperor of Austria, in particular, was afraid of seeing Napoleon again at Vienna ; and it was so with the rest. I had to yield to their desires ; but as for myself, personally, I wash my hands of every thing that has been done.”

Thus spoke the Emperor of Russia. “Queen Hortense,” continues Rovigo, “appeared persuaded of the truth of this discourse, which she had the goodness to repeat to me. For my part, I only saw that an artifice had been employed to turn away the reproach for an action disloyal in itself, and especially unworthy of a great sovereign.”

About this time vexations and griefs of different kinds assailed the unhappy queen. The remains of her eldest son, who had died in Holland, as has been already said, had been taken to France, and deposited in the vaults of St. Denis ; the government of Louis XVIII. ordered them to be removed. Hortense caused them to be transferred to the Church of St. Leu, where they are still.

Then a more agonizing affliction befell her. The Empress Josephine, her mother, whose health had been constantly good till the time of the invasion of France and the banishment of Napoleon, could not long survive the shocks produced by these terrible catastrophes. Early in May she had felt a general debility, and though she made every effort to resist the disease, she soon sank beneath its violence. On the night of the 27th and 28th



she received the last succors of religion, and died on the 29th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, after giving her benediction to her two grandchildren. Queen Hortense and Prince Eugene received her last sigh.

No one was ever more universally regretted than the Empress Josephine. She had passed her life in doing good; and it was with justice that she herself said on her death bed, "The first wife of Napoleon has never caused the shedding of a single tear."

This premature death had a profound effect on the mother of Louis Napoleon. In dividing the inheritance with Eugene, she reserved for herself the payment of 20,000 francs for salaries, and employed in presents a sum of 100,000 francs, much of which she was obliged to borrow. May we not say that she had inherited her mother's excellent heart? The royal government, however, had but little regard for her sensibility. Josephine's ashes were hardly cold, when M. Blacas, of the king's household, came to lay claim on the pictures of Malmaison as the property of the state.

The departure of Prince Eugene was another cruel blow to the unhappy sister. She was now almost alone, and the altered state of her fortunes no longer admitting of the expenditure of her days of prosperity, she dismissed all her people except three women, and the Abbé Bertrand, her children's tutor.

The latter was a very estimable man, who carefully superintended the education of the young princes, and provided them with the best masters.

These two children were certainly of an intelligence in advance of their years. "This proceeded," as Made-moiselle Cochelet says, "from the care which their mother gave herself to form their character, and to de-

velop their faculties. They were too young, however, to understand very well every thing new that was passing around them. As they had been always in the habit of seeing kings in the members of their own family, when the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia were announced for the first time in their presence, they asked their governess if *they* were their uncles, too, and if they were to be called so. "No," they were told, "you will simply say, Sire." "But," asked the younger, "are not all kings our uncles?" They were told that the kings they then saw were far from being their uncles, but had come in their turn as conquerors.

"Then," resumed Prince Napoleon, "they are the enemies of our uncle, the emperor. What do they embrace us for?"

"Because the Emperor of Russia, whom you see, is a generous enemy, who, in your misfortune, wishes to be useful to you, as well as to mamma. But for him you would no longer have any thing, and the condition of your uncle, the emperor, would be still more unhappy." "We must love him then, this emperor?" "Yes, certainly, for you owe him your gratitude."

Louis, who generally spoke very little, had listened very attentively to all this conversation. The first time he saw Alexander return he took a little ring that his uncle Eugene had given him, and stealing over to the emperor quietly, in order to attract no notice, he softly slipped the ring into his hand, and then made away with all his speed. His mother, however, called him back, and asked him what he had done. The child blushing, and full of embarrassment, stammered out, "I have nothing but the ring; uncle Eugene gave it to me, and I wanted to give it to the emperor because he is good to

mamma." Alexander embraced him, put the ring on his watch chain, and promised always to wear it.

The visitors at Malmaison called them "*Your Royal Highness*," &c., which astonished them very much, as their mother had always required that they should be treated without ceremony, and addressed simply, *Napoleon, Louis*. She wished that every thing about them should contribute to their education, and no mother was ever more apprehensive than Queen Hortense of seeing her children spoiled by grandeurs; she always tried to convince them, as already remarked, that they were really nothing, only what they were worth personally.

"I have often seen her," says Mademoiselle Cochelet, "take her two boys on her knees, and talk with them, in order to form their ideas. It was a curious conversation to listen to, in those days of the splendors of the empire, when these two children were the heirs of so many crowns, which the emperor was distributing to his brothers, his officers, his allies. Having questioned them on every thing that they knew already, she passed in review whatever they should know besides, if they were to create their own resources for a livelihood. "Supposing you had no money, and were alone in the world, what would you do, Napoleon, to support yourself?"

"I would become a soldier, and fight so well that I would soon be made an officer."

"And how would you provide for yourself, Louis?"

The little prince, who was not five years old, had listened gravely to all that was said; but knowing that the gun and the knapsack were altogether beyond his strength, he replied, —

"I would sell violet bouquets, like the little boy at

the gate of the Tuileries, from whom we purchase them every day."

All present laughed at this singular idea ; but the queen interrupted, —

"This is one of my lessons. The misfortune of princes born on the throne is, that they think every thing is their due, that they are formed of a different nature from other men, and therefore never contract any obligations towards them : they are ignorant of human miseries, or think themselves beyond their reach. So, when misfortune comes, they are surprised, terrified, and always remain sunk below their destinies."

This was certainly a judicious way to regard things. At the first rumor of the hostile invasion of the French territory she had wished to make her children feel how sensible they should be of this public calamity. She described the ravaged fields, the pillaged towns, the burning cottages, the poor peasants wandering about without shelter, without food, the orphan children. "If you were older," she would say, "you would go to defend your country, and by the side of your uncle, the emperor, try to prevent these evils."

But she was not satisfied merely with their regret that they had neither age nor strength to do any such thing ; she asked them if they were not willing to share all that they possessed with the sufferers. The children consented with joy ; they offered their toys, their money, every thing. But the queen wished them to do something which should remind them every day of the misfortunes of their country, with which, young as they were, they desired to identify themselves. It was agreed that, as long as the war lasted on the soil of France,

they should deprive themselves of their fruit and sweet-meats. Prince Napoleon was quite proud of this privation ; he took pains to explain to his younger brother how fine it was to be considered as something, by being associated with the common misfortunes.

After the reduction of their mother's revenues, in consequence of the restoration of the Bourbons, the children saw perfectly well that fortune had changed, and the elder said one day, "I see that we are poor, and I am always thinking with my brother what we could do, so as to be no longer an expense to mamma. Could not I give lessons in Latin, as long as I am too young to become a soldier?"

But Louis, then six years old, still preferred the violets, and encouraged his brother by gravely assuring him that he had no doubt they should get on very well. As far as herself and her children were concerned, the mother hardly regretted her misfortunes. "Our trials," said she, "are a good school for my boys, and they must profit by them. Souls become strong only by encountering reverses. The people," she added, "would be better understood, better governed, if all princes had happened to meet misfortunes in their youth."

A few days afterwards Prince Louis gave another proof of his courage. He was tortured with a violent toothache. "Bring the dentist," said he to his governess, "and let him pull out this big tooth that makes me suffer so ; but don't tell mamma : it would make her unhappy."

"How do you expect to conceal it from mamma?" asked the governess ; "her room is beside yours ; she will hear you scream." "O, I'll not scream," he replied

earnestly ; " I promise you I shan't scream. Am I not man enough to have courage ? "

The queen, however, was told ; but she consented to the operation, pretending to know nothing about it. The dentist came and extracted a large tooth. But the child uttered no cry, and then ran off in triumph to his mother to show her the tooth.

About this time Hortense thought she could do no less than present herself before Louis XVIII., to thank him for the duchy of St. Leu. The king gave her a most gracious reception. He was enchanted with her wit, her tact, her beauty. " Never," said he to the Duke de Duras, " have I seen a woman uniting such grace to such distinguished manners ; and I am a judge of women. "

Her husband had retired to Italy, and now claimed the children, or at least the eldest. She obstinately refused. A lawsuit was the consequence. She engaged the most distinguished royalist advocates to plead her cause. But the rights of a father could not be gainsaid. It was decided against her ; but on the same day news arrived which for a while made every other consideration forgotten. Napoleon had landed. On the 20th of March he returned to Paris.

## CHAPTER II.

*Return of Napoleon to the Tuileries. — Reception of Hortense. — Consequences of Waterloo. — The Necklace. — Fury of the Royalists. — Departure of the Queen. — Separation of the Brothers. — Constance. — Arenenberg. — Augsburg. — Rome. — Switzerland. — Hopes excited by the Revolution of July.*

HORTENSE was one of the first to congratulate Napoleon on his return to the Tuileries. As she might have expected, she was coldly received. Napoleon reproached her for having remained at Paris, instead of having followed or accompanied her husband. "Sire," was her lively reply, "I had a presentiment that you would return, and I waited for you here." Napoleon assumed a milder tone, but blamed her also for presenting herself at an audience of the king, and for accepting the duchy of St. Leu.

Next day she brought her children to the emperor, who received them with the more joy and affection as the implacable diplomacy of the north had deprived him of his son, who was retained at Venice with his mother, Marie Louise. His nephews seemed to replace the King of Rome. He wished that they should be near him as often as possible. He showed them all the love he could not show his son. He presented them to the people, who had watched under his windows to express their joy at seeing him again. At the imposing ceremony of the Champ de Mai they were still at his side, as though they were to serve as a pledge in the new alliance between France and the empire: he presented them again to the deputations of the army and of the people.

Napoleon had ordered Hortense to write to the empress, Marie Louise, to express his desire to see her again, though he could hardly expect any result from this proceeding, as he knew Marie Louise no longer had her liberty.

In her absence Hortense did the honors of the imperial court. No more private life for this princess. Her audiences were incessant. Whoever had a favor to ask addressed himself to her as the most certain means of gaining the emperor's ear. Every evening, at seven o'clock, she repaired to the Tuileries, and remained there till ten ; then she returned home to receive her own company.

Again restored to power, Hortense employed her influence, like her mother, in doing services to every body, and preventing reactions. At her pressing recommendation, the emperor permitted the dowager Duchess of Bourbon, and likewise the Duchess of Orleans, to remain in France. But Napoleon never did things by halves, and fixed on the former of these ladies an income of 400,000 francs, and one of 200,000 francs on the latter.

But such acts little affected the mighty catastrophe that was approaching. The horizon looked very gloomy. Within France, two oppositions, that of the Royalists and that of the Liberals, announcing a serious change in the dispositions of a great number of French, presaged a strong resistance to the absolute authority of Napoleon ; and abroad, the foreign powers had published their manifestoes, and declared that they would never make either peace or truce with this man, whom they proclaimed the enemy of the human race.

The 12th of June came. Napoleon set out on his



last expedition. Six days after, the disaster of Waterloo annihilated the hopes of the empire. The emperor, unable to rally his shattered forces, retired to Malmaison in despair. Hortense flew to console him, and insisted on identifying herself with his fate. "It is only my duty," she cried. "The emperor has always treated me as his child, and I will try, in return, to be his devoted and grateful daughter."

But he was soon forced to take some decisive step: he thought of going to America. Just as he was departing, his nephews were brought to take their last leave: it was an affecting scene. Louis, particularly, refused to leave him; he screamed, and insisted that he should go and "fire off the cannon." It was necessary to take him away by force. The emperor was departing almost without money. Hortense, after many entreaties, succeeded in making him accept her beautiful necklace, valued at 800,000 francs; she sewed it up in a silk ribbon, which he concealed in his dress. He never found himself obliged, however, to part with this jewel, till on his death bed, when he intrusted it to M. de Montholon, with orders to restore it to Hortense. This devoted man acquitted himself successfully of his commission, and in a moment of penury Hortense yielded this rich necklace to the King of Bavaria, for an annuity of only 23,000 francs, which, moreover, had to be paid only two years.

Meanwhile, on June 29, Hortense had returned to Paris: her saloon was almost as crowded as ever. She was told that the army and people still wanted to fight. "It is too late now," said she; "the emperor has been driven away. Those who have rejected him will have much to blame themselves for; but at present all is

over." Next day, Curbois, an ex-conventional, came to inform her, in the name of a body consisting of colonels and some of the generals of the army that they had decided on overthrowing the provisional government, and again placing at the head of the army the emperor, as *representative, and the result of the revolution*. But Napoleon was already on the road to Rochefort, and every such measure seemed impossible.

On the 1st of July a numerous assemblage of officers at Hortense's house besought her to retire with her children into the interior of France, promising their devoted support. She refused. "I must now undergo whatever fortune fate has destined for me," said she. "I am nothing now. I can't pretend to make people think that *I* rally the troops around me. If I had been Empress of France, I would have done every thing to prolong the defence; but *now* it does not become me to mingle my destinies with such great interests, and I must be resigned."

A few days before the capitulation of Paris, the reaction that had manifested itself so basely towards the emperor inspired Hortense with new fears for her children. She thought herself again obliged to seek a safe retreat for them, whilst awaiting events. She refused the kind offers of many on this subject, unwilling to have any one compromised by showing her such a mark of interest; knowing, moreover, that obscurity would protect them better than a great palace, she confided them to the devotedness of Madame Fessier, who kept a hose establishment on the Boulevard Montmartre. It was a respectable house, where they did not want comfort, and they were kept with the greatest secrecy and care.

But not long. The order to quit Paris was soon given

to Hortense, whose sojourn at the capital, it seems, troubled the government.

The allied sovereigns reëntered on the 10th of July. This time it was the Prince of Schwartzberg that came to lodge in the hotel of Rue Cerutti. Hortense expected that this arrangement would afford her some protection ; but her situation was now very different from what it had been at the time of the first invasion. The royalists blamed her for many of the evils of France ; and the Emperor of Russia, whom she had perhaps too much neglected, far from assuring her of his protection, as in the preceding year, came to her hotel to visit the Prince of Schwartzberg, without asking even to see her.

The fury of her enemies increasing every moment, and her presence in Paris continuing to render the court of Louis XVIII. uneasy, the government determined on requesting the Baron de Muffling, commander of Paris for the allies, to signify to the Duchess de St. Leu that it was necessary to depart immediately. She received, in fact, an order, on the 19th of July, to quit Paris in two hours. She was subsequently allowed to remain till the evening, and Muffling even offered her an escort of the allied troops ; but she would accept of nothing in this respect, except the company of an Austrian officer, the Count de Voyna, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Schwartzberg, and chamberlain of the emperor.

The Prince Louis Napoleon was only seven years old when he was thus forced to quit France in 1815 ; he, however, fully understood that he was going into exile, and obstinately refused to depart. His mother had much difficulty in consoling him, and succeeded only by promising that he should soon return again. We can

easily comprehend now the recollections which he brought away of the splendors of his childhood, and particularly the cruel day of his last separation from the emperor must have left an indelible impression on his soul. The country of his early years must have been always present in his thoughts, but more especially the noble face of Napoleon, his uncle.

Setting out with her children at nine in the evening, Hortense rested for the night at the Chateau de Bercy. Her journey passed without accident till she came to Dale, where the people, thinking that M. de Voyna was carrying her off into captivity, were disposed to handle him with little mercy. She found it even necessary to speak to the crowd to calm the agitation. But leaving France was not all: the difficulty was, to obtain a resting-place. She was desirous of retiring to an estate of her own, at Pregny, not far from Geneva; but the French minister, resident in Switzerland, immediately notified the Swiss government to order her away, as France would not allow her to remain so near the frontiers. We may easily imagine the embarrassment of the queen. The Count de Voyna, no less embarrassed, wished to conduct her back to France, and, leaving her at Bourgen-bresse, to post to Paris for new orders; but she preferred retiring to Aix, in Savoy, where new vexations awaited her.

For hardly had she arrived at Aix, when Louis, her husband, relying on the judgment which he had obtained in March, claimed his eldest son, and sent a messenger to the duchess to conduct him to Rome. After some long delays and fruitless remonstrances, the poor mother had to resign herself to a separation which deeply wounded her heart. One consideration, however, soothed her grief a little: the royalist reaction had become a

terror ; this was shown every day by assassinations. Her proximity to the borders of France, she was apprehensive, might be turned to account by the fanatics, and herself and her children attacked. She thought then that at Rome her son would be more safe than in Savoy or Switzerland, and that he could live there more tranquilly than by continuing, in her company, this wandering and precarious existence, the termination to which she could not yet foresee.

The day appointed for Napoleon's departure arrived. He was in the joint charge of a preceptor chosen by his mother, and of a confidential agent of his father. Inexpressible was the grief of the young prince when he was forced to tear himself from the last embraces of a mother and brother, whose society he had never before quitted for a moment. Louis, for his part, was inconsolable. Henceforward he was to be without a companion. His disposition, mild, timid, and rather reserved, had perfectly agreed with that of his brother ; he was not a talker, but his mind, quick, reflective, and penetrating, expressed itself in happy words, full of sense and keenness, which seemed to flash like sparks in his little conversations with his dear Napoleon. The separation made such an impression on him that he fell sick ; but the disease, a jaundice, soon yielded to the care of a physician.

Still disturbed by the French police, who regarded with little pleasure her prolonged stay at Aix, where the Sardinian authorities, too, were spying her movements in very vexatious ways, the duchess soon quitted a country now odious, and always recalling a most mournful recollection.

Leaving Savoy, she wished to fix her residence at

Constance, in the estates of the Grand Duke of Baden, whose wife, Stephanie de Beauharnois, was her cousin ; but to arrive there, Switzerland should be crossed, and this was no easy matter. The Helvetic government refused her a passagc. Fortunately, the Duke of Richelieu intervened, and procured the necessary passport.

Though her health was bad, she departed from Aix in November, accompanied by her son Louis Napoleon, the Abbé Bertrand, tutor of the prince, an attendant, and Mademoiselle Cochelet, her reader. The first night she wished, for economy, to remain at Pregny, her own habitation. But the French and Genevese authorities would not allow such a favor. At Morat she was even detained a prisoner by the gendarmerie of Fribourg for two days, until the authorities of the country had ordered otherwise.

On her arrival at Constance, where she believed herself at the end of her painful journey, she was notified that she could not take up her residence there, as the great powers had decided that the members of the Bonaparte family would be allowed to live only in Prussia, Austria, or Russia. "My health," was her reply, "and the season do not permit me to go farther for the present ; I only want to remain here till spring." The Grand Duke of Baden, whose agents spoke so harshly to the poor queen, was himself suffering from the influence of the great powers. Having daily to sustain the cause of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and whom it was desired he should divorce, he found an additional embarrassment in the arrival of Hortense, to whom, however, he would have desired to be agreeable. The grand duchess, not daring to write openly to her cousin, sent her secret encouragement.

"Take patience," said she, "and do not be uneasy ; perhaps all will be right by spring. By that time, passions will have calmed, and many things shall be forgotten."

Somewhat assured, she rented a house on the lake shore, of which she took possession early in 1816. Here she could resume her usual amusements. Music and drawing occupied much of her lonely time. The neighborhood of the beautiful lake inspired her with some songs which have often since been sung by the inhabitants of Constance.\* She was soon visited in her retirement by many of her friends in Germany : Prince Eugene came to see her, and passed a few days in her society. But this visit, which appeared to restore her health, excited some diplomatic commotion, and at a moment when she least expected it, she received a letter from M. de Metternich, informing her that, having heard she was pleased with the banks of the Lake of Constance, he had hastened to place at her disposal a passport for Bregentz, where she should be treated by the Austrian authorities with all proper respect. This was polite ; but as she rather mistrusted the intentions of the Austrian government, she preferred remaining at Constance.

In spring she returned Eugene's visit by going to Berg, on the Wurmsee, a summer residence of the King of Bavaria, whose son-in-law, as is well known, her brother had become. Soon after, her physicians having advised her to pass the summer at Geiss, among the mountains of Appenzell, to take baths there, the Landammann of this canton endeavored to render her stay as agreeable as possible. The magistrates of the canton of

\* She composed many songs still great favorites ; among others "*Partant pour la Syrie*," the famous French national air.

Thurgovia informed her, also, that if she wished to establish herself in their country, she would be sustained in doing so by the authorities and the people. This proposal was too flattering to be slighted, and Hortense kept it in reserve. But for the present she found constance very agreeable; the diplomacy seemed to forget her, and she received every attention from all classes in the city. Her greatest care here was the education of her son. She herself taught him such accomplishments as drawing and dancing, for which she could not find masters. The evenings were spent in reading, which was always regulated by the studies of the moment. Sometimes it was travels, in connection with what he learned in geography; sometimes biographies, or sketches that referred to the part of history at which he was engaged. On Saturdays, Hortense devoted to him the whole day; she made him repeat all he had learned during the week; and, though it might be Latin, or something else quite foreign to what had been her own studies, she listened to him with the greatest attention, in order to show her son what interest she attached to his progress.

Louis, according to Mademoiselle Cochelet, had become so restless, that it required all the native quickness of his intellect for him to learn any thing; and it was still more difficult to watch over him than to induce him to study. The good Abbé Bertrand found all his zeal useless, and the queen saw that firmer hands were required to control his independent character. Accordingly, though the abbé still continued to watch over his pupil generally, his most important charges were soon fulfilled by M. Lebas, pupil of the Normal School of Paris, a young professor of great merit.



With the following anecdote, narrated by the so often quoted Mademoiselle Cochelet, we will close an account of his childhood.

“At Constance, as well as at Aix, the prince was in the habit of playing with the children of the neighborhood. One of these, the son of the miller of the bridge over the Rhine, his senior by a few years, and a great favorite, often induced him to leave bounds. One day he had escaped as usual, and whilst the abbé, alarmed at his protracted absence, was searching for him in all directions, I happened to be the first to see him returning from his little expedition. He was in his shirt sleeves, and walking through the mud and snow in his bare feet. He was very shy of meeting me, and wished to avoid me; but I seized him, and insisted on knowing how he had come to be in such a trim. And it was with difficulty that I induced him to tell me at last, that, whilst out on the road, he had seen a poor family pass by in such a state of destitution that he could not bear the sight; so, having no money, he had given one of the children his coat, and the other his shoes.”

As he grew up, his features lost in regularity, but gained in expression. The latter betokened thoughtfulness, and afterwards that calm energy which is the substratum of his character. His education, simple, grave, and severe, at the same time, should be attended with happy results on a nature so capable as his of retaining whatever good it had once received.

His mother, thus enjoying a tranquil existence at Constance, in the winter of 1816, was ever employing her time in arranging her Memoirs, when suddenly, at the commencement of 1817, whilst engaged in her modest labors, the hatred of her enemies, which seemed

to have been lulled for the space of a year, broke forth with more hostility than ever, and the Grand Duke of Baden received orders to send her out of his dominions. Then she remembered the generous offer of the citizens of Thurgovia, promising to protect her against all the intrigues of diplomacy. In her rides around Constance, she had remarked, in this canton, a manor that had particularly struck her, from the beauty of its situation. It was that of Arenenberg, and she now hastened to make it her own, by purchasing it for 65,000 francs.

Of this she soon made a delightful residence, where she liked to pass the summer and **part** of the fall, loving her new purchase the more dearly, as, by the consent of the authorities, she had become a landed property holder in Switzerland, and thus acquired the right of returning to this country whenever it pleased her to do so. The same year she passed the winter at Augsburg, where she also bought a residence. There, at least, she was never disturbed; her brother 'came frequently' to visit her, and she could attend more carefully than ever to the education of her son, whose expanding intelligence and general progress required professors, who could not be found in Switzerland, but were numerous enough at Augsburg.

She enjoyed a great happiness, also, in 1818. A kind of reconciliation having been formed between herself and her husband, she obtained the favor of having her eldest son, Napoleon, at her house for several months. It is easy to conceive the joy of the two brothers at meeting each other after a separation of three years. Hortense had at last found repose, but it was soon terribly invaded by death. Within four years she lost

three of the few most dear to her on earth. The Emperor Napoleon died in 1821, her brother Eugene in 1824, and Maximilian, King of Bavaria, her last protector, in 1825.

At the latter period Louis Napoleon, then seventeen years old, had completely finished his studies in the college at Augsburg. Nothing, therefore, could detain Hortense in Bavaria any longer, and she obtained, with much difficulty, permission to dwell in Italy. Accordingly she generally passed the winters at Rome, and in summer returned to Arenenberg.

Still life had its charms. At Rome she saw herself continually surrounded by the most distinguished personages. Their hearts still faithful to the imperial dynasty saluted her *queen*, as in the times of her greatness. She resided at the Villa Paolina, which belonged to her sister-in-law, Pauline, the Princess Borghese. Politics being banished from the mixed *conversazioni*, music came to the relief of the general constraint; but when the concert was over, and the majority of the visitors gone, a second *soirée* commenced. It was then that Hortense surrendered herself to the pleasure of talking of France, surrounded by her intimate friends.

At Arenenberg she lived still more to her liking. In this charming retreat, adorned with many relics of the empire, could be seen a table covered with many things that had belonged to Josephine, besides the portrait of the King of Rome, that had received the last sigh of Napoleon.

Louis Napoleon had always accompanied his mother either to Rome or to Switzerland. He profited, by the vicinity of Constance, to devote himself with extreme zeal to military exercises among a Baden regiment

garrisoning this city. He pursued at the same time a course of physics and chemistry under the direction of a Frenchman, M. Giestard, a man of much experience, and at the head of a large manufactory.

Of his life at Arenenberg several anecdotes are related which are highly characteristic of his dauntless and resolute disposition. We shall give one.

During the winter of 1828 or 1829, whilst on a visit with his aunt, the Grand Duchess of Baden, Louis Napoleon was walking one day on the banks of the Rhine, accompanied by that lady, his two cousins the Princesses Josephine and Mary, and several personages of the court. The conversation turned on the ancient French gallantry. The Princess Mary, of an original and witty turn of mind, entered into an enthusiastic eulogium on the ages of chivalry ; she exalted the devotedness of the brave knights who took for their motto, "*God, my king, and my lady,*" to remain faithful to which they recoiled before no dangers and no sacrifices. To this picture of the olden virtues she contrasted another of the selfish vices of the moderns. Louis Napoleon took up the discussion with all the warmth of his age. He contended that, in the matter of courage and gallantry, the French had not degenerated, and that they were still willing to do for the ladies all that their fathers had done. "Never," he added, "has devotion been wanting to women who can inspire it." At this moment they arrived at the spot where the Neckar rushes into the Rhine, struggling with impetuosity to force its way through the waters of that river. It here presented the aspect of a raging sea. This was the end of their walk. They were proceeding slowly along the bank of the Neckar ; the ladies had enough to do to protect their toilets

against a violent breeze, when a flower, detached by a sudden blast from the hair of Princess Mary, was blown into the river.

"See!" cried the thoughtless girl, laughing at the mishap; "that would be a splendid opportunity to a knight of old." And saying these words, she showed the prince the poor flower, which, hurried along by the rapid current, was fast disappearing in the foam.

"Ah, cousin," cried Louis Napoleon, "this is a challenge! Well, I accept it."

And on the instant, before any one could think of stopping him, he plunged, clothes and all, into the raging waters. Conceive the consternation of the duchess, of all present, particularly of the young princess whose imprudent jest had occasioned such an act of audacity. They shrieked, they cried for help, they were in despair.

In the mean time the prince swam vigorously, struggling against the violence of the waves. For a long time he disappeared behind the billows; but at last, after extraordinary efforts, he was seen, holding the precious flower in his hand, to regain the shore, safe and sound, but frozen.

"Here," said he, "take your rose, my fair cousin; but for God's sake," he continued, laughing and pointing at his dripping garments, "let us hear no more of your knights of old."

Subsequently he was admitted into the camp of Thun, in the canton of Berne. This was an institution of the government, intended for the instruction of the officers of the engineering and artillery corps, under the direction of Colonel Dufour, an old colonel of the engineers of the *Grande Armée*. Exercises of all kinds, manœuvres, instructions, charges over the glaciers, were

imposed every day on the members of the camp. Louis Napoleon recoiled from no fatigue ; he took his part at every thing, his knapsack on his back, the wheelbarrow or the compass in his hand, eating the humblest soldier's fare. Like the emperor in his youth, he soon felt that his tastes and instincts led him to a profound study of the science of artillery. To this he applied himself almost exclusively, regarding it as the first science of modern warfare.

He was at the camp of Thun, in the midst of his cannons, when he heard of the revolution of July. This event excited his patriotism enthusiastically. He hastened to celebrate with his comrades the resurrection of the principle of the people's sovereignty, and the restoration of the French nation in the eyes of Europe. He fondly thought that the reappearance of the *tricolor*, so brilliantly illumined by Napoleon, would be the prelude of his return to France. Unfortunately, policy has its necessities, which often keep down the instinct of generous intentions ; and whatever may have been the wishes of the government of July, the hatred borne by the Holy Alliance against the blood of the great man could not cease so soon, and the odious treaties of 1815 were still enforced, as well against Napoleon's family as against France herself.

The new king, Louis Philippe, had, however, sent Hortense gracious words by the Grand Duchess of Baden, and her best friends assured her that she could probably return to Paris if she did not bring her children. But to such a separation she would never consent ; as long as the proscription struck at *them*, she was content to share their fate.

## CHAPTER III.

*The Brothers participate in the Italian Insurrection.—Death of the elder.—Hortense saves her remaining Son by a timely Flight.—Fruitless Application to Louis Philippe.—Again ordered to quit Paris.—Short Stay in England.—Return to Arenenberg.—Death of the Duke of Reichstadt.—Deputation from Poland.*

DECEIVED in his expectations of returning to his native soil, and fallen from his dreams of glory, Louis Napoleon now turned his eyes towards the Italian peninsula, where the revolution of July had been followed, as usual, by an after-swell of popular insurrection. Italy, impatient under the yoke of Austria, longed every day for her deliverance, and at the first sound of the tocsin of July, believed it to have arrived. The death of the beloved and respected Pius VIII., at all events, hastened matters. The patriots relied on the alleged similarity of their principles with those of the new French government; but different reasons, not here to be enumerated, prevented France from engaging in an enterprise the consequences of which might bring on a general conflagration.

Meanwhile, the fermentation increasing, Louis Napoleon, who was passing the winter of 1830 at Rome, with his mother, could not but feel its effects. The insurgents founded great hopes on him and his brother. The testimonies of sympathy which he received naturally incited the apprehension of the papal government, and he was soon obliged to avoid the hands of the Roman police by a precipitate flight to Florence. Here his elder brother, Napoleon, resided. He had married his cousin,

the second daughter of King Joseph, and he now employed himself generally at industrial inventions and philosophical studies.

The insurrection of the Romagna burst out, at last, in 1831. The object of the rising was to overthrow Austrian authority in Italy, and to restore national unity. To sustain the movement they considered the name of Napoleon all powerful; they invoked the assistance of the two nephews, who responded immediately to their solicitations.

Hortense was still at Rome. Just before the departure of her son she had seen the colonel of the papal guard approach her dwelling with fifty men, ordered to conduct Louis Napoleon to the frontiers without delay. But the prince having escaped, and the insurrection spreading, unable to endure her anxiety any longer, she left Rome, to rejoin her sons in Florence; not, however, without having incurred the suspicion of regarding the conspirators at least with no unfriendly eye.

It was not without reason that the papal government dreaded the presence in Rome of men who might become leaders of the insurrection. Just then it was the carnival time, and an outbreak was attempted during the promenade on the Corso; but precautionary measures had been taken, and it was soon repressed.

Meanwhile, Hortense, arriving in Florence, heard that her sons had joined the insurgents; that the young men of the towns and villages obeyed them; in fine, that General Armandi, the old tutor of Prince Napoleon, had been appointed minister of war by the patriotic party.

Their father, now Count of St. Leu, was in despair; he blamed Hortense as the cause of the minds of his sons having taken such a direction, and expressed his



decided wish that she should go and bring them back. She naturally objected. "If they come at all," said she, "it must be only of their own free will. If they have taken a decided resolution, my remonstrances cannot alter it; and, after all, people would only say that I was going with millions to their assistance."

The fact is, she was not unwilling that they should acquire a little glory, and secretly wished the success of their enterprise. Whilst Cardinal Fesch then, in concert with their father and their uncle Jerome, sent order after order, prayer after prayer, to induce them to abandon the insurrection, Hortense alone held aloof. She did not join her entreaties to those of her family, though, probably, she might have proved more successful.

But the inefficiency and temporizing measures of the insurgent leaders soon paralyzed the revolutionary action. Prince Napoleon wished to press matters, but was withheld by the minister of war; he hastened to defend Bologna, and in a pretty brisk action fought there, he, as well as his brother Louis, gained much distinction for personal bravery.

But they could not resist the Austrians. Though not quite discomfited, the insurgents were obliged to retire to Forli, where the unhappy Napoleon was suddenly attacked with small pox, and expired in a short time in the arms of his disconsolate brother.

Notwithstanding this discouraging, overwhelming bereavement, Louis Napoleon, whose military genius was more decided than his brother's, defended his position with obstinacy, and at last gave way only in obedience to the repeated orders of the insurrectionary government. A retreat was effected to Ancona; but, unsup-

ported by the French, the revolutionary party saw themselves obliged to abandon the unequal, and now perfectly hopeless struggle. Henceforth, the question was how to escape the vengeance of the offended powers. Vessels were engaged to convey them to Greece, but many leaders were taken and executed.

Hortense's anguish on hearing these events may be conceived. After the first reverses, her husband wished her to embark with her sons, and take them to Corfu; but, fearful of being captured by one of the Austrian cruisers of the Adriatic, she conceived the bold resolution, unknown to Louis, of taking them to England, through France. With a passport ostensibly for Ancona, she left Florence, March 10, 1831, having previously contrived to procure another passport, under the name of an English lady travelling with her two sons.

Arriving at Foligno, she wrote to them, communicated all her fears, and said she would wait in that city for the result of their enterprise, whatever it might be. Her messenger found them at Forli, in full retreat, just at the moment when Napoleon had fallen sick. At this news the unhappy mother hastened her journey; but on her arrival at Pesaro she met but one son, now her only one—Louis Napoleon. It was necessary to suppress her maternal grief, if even *he* was to be left. The Austrians were advancing; not a moment was to be lost. Her English passport mentioned two young men. To lull suspicion she passed off as one of her sons the young Marquis Zappi, one of the insurgent chiefs, who had been ordered to convey to Paris despatches sent by the revolutionary government of Bologna.

At Ancona, Louis Napoleon himself was attacked with the small pox; but maternal devotion was now at

hand, and the physician soon declared him able to continue his journey. The Austrians made the strictest search after him, and set a reward on his head; but a report having been spread and believed that he had escaped in a small vessel for Malta, the pursuit was relaxed, and the travellers arrived safely in France.

Here double precautions were necessary to conceal their name. The prince, enraptured at the sight of his country, prepared a letter in which he asked Louis Philippe to be allowed to enter the French army as a private soldier. Before sending it he submitted it to his mother. "I read it," says she, "but I did not approve such a proceeding."

At Paris she alighted at the Hotel de Hollande, close to the Place Vendome, and immediately informed Louis Philippe of her arrival. Her letter was received just as Sebastiani was telling the council she had landed in Malta. The king charged Casimir Perier, president of the Council, to visit her. "I know," said she, "that I have transgressed the law; but I have weighed all the consequences: you have the right to arrest me; it would be just." "Legal," replied the minister, "but not just."

Louis Philippe granted her an audience. He spoke of the exile of her family as deeply affecting himself. "I know what exile is," said he; "it is not my fault if yours has not ceased." She confessed that her son was in Paris. The king recommended the greatest discretion, adding, "I know you have legal claims here; write a note of what is due to you, and send it to myself only. I understand business, and offer to take charge of yours." Hortense was then admitted to see the queen and Madame Adelaide, the king's sister, who appeared to sympathize with her maternal afflictions.

Louis Philippe alone, without excepting even Casimir Perier, was aware of the presence of her son. The other ministers knew nothing even of the arrival of the duchess. Perier, it appears, made magnificent promises regarding the recall of the Napoleon family, and the possibility of restoring her the duchy of St. Leu. He offered, as a banker, to furnish, in anticipation of this, the means of continuing her journey to London. The king had already made a similar offer. She refused both. Her purse was not yet exhausted; the morning after her arrival in Paris, she had cashed, at Lefebvre's bank, an order for 16,000 francs.

In the mean time Louis Napoleon was attacked with a fever, which seemed to increase in violence every day. It was now the 5th of May, the anniversary of the emperor's death. The people were accustomed to signalize this day by laying wreaths of evergreens at the base of the column in the Place Vendome. This time the populace collected there in numbers that strongly testified the reverence in which they still held the mighty name.

The mystery of the incognito of the young prince and his mother appears to have leaked out among the crowd; and the news, however uncertain, of the presence of two such personages, was of a nature to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. The excitement almost degenerated into an *émeute*. But it was by no means seditious. Marshal Lobau, then commander of the National Guards, thought nothing more was necessary than to bring *fire engines*, instead of cannons, to disperse the multitude; and effectually, the action of these aquatic machines was sufficient to extinguish the ardor of the assemblage.

But, successful as this manœuvre was, Louis Philippe and his ministers were devoured with uneasiness. It was absolutely resolved that the duchess should quit France. She had passed twelve days in Paris ; only for the sickness of her son she would not have been tolerated there a moment longer. But at last she should go. She embarked at Calais for England on the 10th of May.

The authors of the "*Biographie des Hommes du Jour*" say that before quitting France, Louis Napoleon had written Louis Philippe a letter of remarkable dignity and eloquence, boldly asserting his right as a French citizen, of which, though the restoration had despoiled him of it by the reactionary law of January 12, 1816, the *government of the tricolor* could not deprive him, without violating its principles and abusing its power. He recognized the king *as the representative of a great nation* ; he solicited the honor of serving in the French ranks ; he prided himself on having embraced, in Italy, what he called the cause of the people, and now demanded the privilege of being allowed to die some day fighting for his country.

This letter received no reply ; but its energetic language only convinced the government, more deeply than ever, of the dangerous character of the writer.

On their arrival in London, Hortense and her son were honored by men of all parties in England with a very flattering reception. The famous Talleyrand, then French ambassador, sent one of his confidants to learn the object of their journey. The prince's reply was, that he intended to pass a few days in England with a view to instruction. He visited, in fact, during his stay, the principal industrial and scientific establishments with

scrupulous care; but he refused all the offers of hospitality lavished on him, being unwilling to accept any favor from the English out of respect for the memory of the great emperor, whose bitterest enemies the English had always been.

As to the Duchess of St. L  u, she replied to Talleyrand's question that, not having had any particular object in her journey to England, her intention was to return immediately to Switzerland through Belgium.

This reply disturbed the whole *corps diplomatique*. Her presence was more dreaded at Brussels than at Paris. The Belgians might elect her son to their vacant throne, and the English journals declared that she had come to London only to influence the government in his favor. Talleyrand offered her a passport under a supposed name, by means of which she could traverse the north of France. Her answer was, that she had already written to Louis Philippe for this permission, and that she was compelled to wait his reply.

At last she obtained the passports, left England early in August, landed at Calais, and preserving the strictest incognito, pursued her journey with her son under the name of the Baroness of Arenemberg. She avoided Paris in conformity with the route that had been traced out for her, but did not fail to visit the tomb of her mother, Josephine, at Ruel.

On his return to Switzerland, Louis Napoleon received a secret deputation of Poles sent from Warsaw, proposing to put him at the head of their nation, then in arms. The letter of the Polish leaders was as pressing as it was honorable. "To whom," it said, "can the direction of our enterprise be better intrusted than to the nephew of the greatest captain of all ages? A young Bonaparte

appearing in our country, tricolor in hand, would produce a moral effect of incalculable consequences. Come, then, young hero, hope of our country; trust to the waves, that already know your name, the fortunes of Cæsar, and what is more, the destinies of liberty. You will gain the gratitude of your brethren in arms and the admiration of the world."

This letter was dated August 28, 1831, and signed by General Kniazewicz, Count Plater, and others. Louis Napoleon was then twenty-three years old — the age when the soul loves adventure; and certainly the glory of re-establishing the throne of the Jagellons, or, at least, restoring an independent Poland, was inducement enough to tempt a young man that felt the blood of Napoleon stir in his veins. Without reflection, and in a moment of enthusiasm, he decided on starting immediately for Poland. His thoughtful, absent air excited his mother's alarm, and, suspecting what was passing in his mind, she employed every means to keep him at home. But he had already quitted her without even taking his farewell, when suddenly the disastrous news of the capture of Warsaw, on the 7th of September, restored him once more to her arms.

The following year, 1832, July 22, the Duke of Reichstadt, son of the emperor, Ex-King of Rome, aged twenty-one years and four months, died at Schœnbrunn, near Vienna. This premature death was a real calamity for patriotic France, and particularly for the unhappy family of Napoleon. It was a terrible competitor the less for the royalty of July, and Austria lost an instrument always redoubtable in her hands to the dynasty of the Bourbons.

Thenceforward the uneasy eyes of the Holy Alliance

were directed towards Switzerland. It was indeed only to be expected that (inscribed the first on the great book of the imperial dynasty, and recognized as the direct heir\* of the political fortune of the emperor) Louis Napoleon should, after the King of Rome, attract the surveillance of European absolutism. It appears that, immediately after the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, several diplomatic agents were sent to Thurgovia to sound the dispositions of the prince and watch his projects. In particular, a secretary of the French embassy in London, a confidential agent of Talleyrand, established himself, for some time, in the neighborhood of the prince and his mother, to have an eye on his movements.

But the calm and reserved conduct of the nephew of the great emperor baffled the intriguers, and without troubling himself much about the political espionage, of which he was the object, he surrendered himself with new ardor to the prosecution of the most severe studies.

His purse was constantly open to unfortunate patriots ; all the wandering wrecks of Poland that passed through Constance were sheltered at his expense, and departed blessing his generosity. To organize a lottery in their favor, he sent the Polish committee, at Berne, a casket really of inestimable value, as, independently of its beauty, it had belonged to the emperor.

The committee thus expressed their gratitude: "We should have been very happy, if, according to the impulses of our heart, we could preserve, as a sacred me-

\* Louis Napoleon is the son of Louis, who was only the fourth of the brothers ; but Joseph having left no male heirs, and Lucien's being excluded from the succession, (as he had fallen into disgrace at the time,) after the death of the King of Rome, the present Emperor of France is the direct heir of Napoleon, according to the testament of the latter, and the articles of the plebiscite already alluded to.



morial, an article that once belonged to the great man, whose death the Poles the more deeply deplore, as they are persuaded that, had he been living, their nation would not have been condemned to such horrible punishments, and their children to a long and mournful exile.

"Five hundred Polish refugees, grateful for his generous solicitude, have the honor to present their sentiments of the most profound respect to the illustrious descendant of the Emperor Napoleon, August 6, 1833."

At this same period the prince had another opportunity of displaying his generosity. A company had been formed in Paris, of which Lafayette was president, to collect works of art to be disposed of by lottery—the profits to be devoted to the benefit of political prisoners, and of journalists condemned to heavy fines. The Count de Survilliers (Joseph Bonaparte) sent from London a cross of honor which had belonged to Napoleon, and Prince Louis Napoleon a Damascus sabre, having the emblems of the consulate and the empire engraved together on the blade.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*Louis Napoleon an Author. — His "Reveries Politiques." — "Considerations sur la Suisse." — Refuses the Offer of the Crown of Portugal with the Hand of Donna Maria. — His "Manuel d'Artillerie." — Life at Arenenberg.*

FRANCE having closed her gates against him, every other career being interdicted, and his active mind imperiously demanding employment, Louis Napoleon

thought of becoming a writer. Though but twenty-four years old, the peculiar incidents of his life, acting upon a mind naturally disposed to thought, had matured his understanding, whilst his judgment had been powerfully strengthened by the rigorous course of studies to which from his childhood he had been devoted. His first work, "*Reveries Politiques*," appeared in 1832, and at once revealed a grasp of thought, a capacity of generalization, that took every one, friends as well as enemies, by surprise.

We will take the liberty of presenting the reader with a few extracts from this work. A desire to know the early principles entertained by a man who is at present in possession of so much power to put them into execution, is only natural curiosity.

In this manner the young thinker characterizes the different forms of government that succeeded each other in France: "Thus it was the nature of the republic to establish the reign of equality and liberty, and the passions that set it in motion were love of country, and the extermination of its enemies. It was the nature of the empire to consolidate a throne on the principles of the revolution, to heal up the wounds of France, to regenerate the people; its passions were love of country, of glory, of honor. The nature of the restoration was a liberty tolerated for the purpose of extinguishing glory; and its passions were a desire to restore the ancient privileges, and a tendency towards despotism. The nature of the government of 1830 was the new birth of the French glories, the sovereignty of the people, the reign of merit; but its passions were fear, egotism, and meanness."

Without stopping to consider if these characteristics

are rigidly deduced, we must grant that at first sight, at least, they appear tolerably true. It is also easily seen that he regarded the imperial régime as the type of perfection.

"A day will come," he adds, "when virtue shall triumph over intrigue, when merit shall have more power than prejudices, when glory shall crown liberty. I think this can only be accomplished by uniting the two popular causes — that of Napoleon II. and that of the people. The son of the great man is the representative of the greatest glory, as the republic is that of the greatest liberty."

It is hardly necessary to say that this allusion was made to the Duke of Reichstadt, who was then, apparently, enjoying excellent health in Austria. It was easily understood in France, where, if the young duke had made his appearance before the people had acquiesced in the accession of the house of Orleans, his elevation to the throne could not be doubted for a moment. "With the name of Napoleon," he continued, "people shall never dread the return of terror; with the name of the republic, the return of absolute power. Frenchmen, let us be just. Let us be grateful to him who, springing from the ranks of the people, did every thing for its prosperity; who diffused the intelligence and assured the independence of his country. If one day the people are free, it is to Napoleon they shall owe it. He accustomed them to virtue, the only solid basis of a republic. Do not reproach him for his dictatorship — his despotism, if you will; he was leading us to liberty, as the ploughshare cuts the furrows to prepare the fertility of the soil. Equality before the laws, the superiority of merit, prosperity of commerce and industry,

the emancipation of nations, — to these grand consummations he was leading us at full step. The misfortune of Napoleon's reign is, to have gathered what it had sown, and to have delivered France without having been able to maintain her liberty." Elsewhere he says, —

"The more intelligence is displayed in a country, and the more numerous are the men who are capable of commanding others, the more republican should be the institutions ; we are marching then, at great strides, to the reign of *capacity*."

"The first wants of a country are, *independence, liberty, stability, the supremacy of merit, and comfort generally diffused*. The best government is that where every abuse of power can always be corrected ; where, without social disorder, without effusion of blood, both the laws and the head of the government can be changed ; for one generation cannot bind future generations to its laws."

In his scheme of a constitution, we shall soon see how he thought this could be effected.

"To secure *independence*, the government must be strong, and in order to be strong, it must possess the confidence of the people, so that it may have a numerous and well-disciplined army, without continually hearing outcries against tyranny—that it can see the whole nation armed, without a fear of itself being thereby overthrown.

"To be *free*, which is only *one* consequence of independence, the *whole people*, without distinction, must concur in the election of the representatives of the nation : it is necessary that the masses, who can never be corrupted, who never flatter or dissimulate, be the constant source whence all power emanates.

“In order that a *sense of ease* may be spread through all classes, it is necessary, not only that the taxes should be diminished, but also that the government have an aspect of stability, which may tranquillize the citizens, and permit them to rely on the future.

“The government will be *stable* when the institutions are not exclusive; that is to say, when, favoring no classes, tolerant for all, they are completely in harmony with the wants and desires of the majority of the nation. Then merit shall be the only passport to advancement, and services rendered to the country the only object of public rewards.”

If the man has not lost, by this time, all recollection of the noble principles which he entertained and expressed so well twenty years ago, France cannot have much to complain of on the score of liberty.

“In accordance with the opinions which I advance,” he continues, “it is easily seen that my principles are entirely republican. What is more enchanting than to dream of the empire of virtue, the development of our faculties, the progress of civilization? If, in my project of a constitution, I prefer a monarchy, it is because I think such a form of government best suited to France, as affording most guarantees for tranquillity, strength, and liberty.

“If the Rhine were an ocean,” he adds, “if virtue were always the sole mover, if merit alone arrived at power, then, indeed, I would wish for a pure and simple republic; but surrounded as we are by enemies, who have at their orders millions of soldiers at any moment capable of renewing the irruption of the barbarians, I believe that the republic could not repel foreign invasion,

and at the same time suppress civil commotions, without having recourse to means injurious to liberty.

“As to virtue and merit, we see often that in a republic they can only attain a certain degree of eminence: either ambition corrupts them or jealousy destroys them. Transcendent intellects are often set aside, from the very distrust which they inspire; and intrigue often triumphs over the genius which might adorn the country. I would have a government which should possess all the advantages of a republic without its inconveniences; in a word, a government which would be strong without despotism, free without anarchy, and independent without conquests.”

These reflections are followed by the project of a constitution, where we can discover, even at this early period, the fundamental principles of that of January 14, 1852. The only remarkable differences we can see between the two may be traced to the change wrought upon the sentiments of the author by the events through which he had passed. In 1832 it was the theorist preparing his work: in 1852 it was the man of experience putting his elaborated theory into execution.

In the project of 1832, the three powers of the state were to be the people, the legislative body, and the emperor. The people had the power of the election and sanction, the legislative body of deliberation, and the emperor of execution.

According to the author of “*Reveries Politiques*,” harmony between the government and the governed can exist only in one of two ways — when the people allow themselves to be ruled according to the will of ONE, or when one rules according to the will of ALL. In the former case it is despotism; in the latter, liberty. The

tranquillity of the one is the silence of the tomb; the tranquillity of the other is the serenity of a clear sky.

For the rest, this projected constitution had universal suffrage as its basis. A declaration of the rights of man, mostly taken from that of 1789, sanctioned the grand principles then proclaimed and acknowledged. The legislative function was delegated to two assemblies — the Tribune and the Senate. The members of the Tribune, appointed for a certain time, and those of the Senate, for life, were to be freely chosen by the people. The judiciary power was confided to judges elected by the people. The imperial dignity was hereditary; however, the accession of the emperor to the throne should be sanctioned by the people; and if the son, or nearest relation of the last emperor, were not agreeable to the nation, the two chambers proposed a new emperor, and their nomination was given to the people for their sanction.

Such was, in substance, the outline of this constitution. We see that, at least, it was inspired by liberal sentiments; and certainly it was not inferior to others in pointing out the means of securing internal order by strengthening authority.

The second important publication of Louis Napoleon had for its title "*Considerations Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse.*"

The authors of the "*Biographie des Hommes du Jour*" express themselves regarding this work — "This book announced great talents as a thinker and writer. It caused a great sensation both in the diplomatic and military worlds. In one portion of the work, all the constitutions of the different cantons were examined, described, and analyzed with a sagacity quite surprising

in so young an author. It showed the comprehensive glance and the enlightened reason of the already ripe statesman. Lofty views abounded in it. Switzerland was particularly struck ; she applauded it with warmth, for she saw in this little book the elements of a better republican organization for the future. In another portion the military question was treated in an extended and scientific manner. The prince pointed out a line of defence which, if adopted by the Helvetic Diet, would render the republic almost inaccessible to the hostilities of the absolute powers. This part of the work reminds us of Bonaparte's famous chapter on the defensive system of Italy. Kindred can exist in the soul as well as in the blood."

These remarks give us a sufficient idea of the work. Extracts would have no interest for the general reader. We can see, however, that it proved the profound nature of his studies and the penetrating depth of his views.

It was spoken of in one of the sittings of the Helvetic Diet as a remarkable work. Some time after, the members unanimously decreed to the author the honorable title of *citizen of the Swiss republic*. This distinction, not necessarily conferring naturalization, and no injury therefore to his rights as a French citizen, he accepted with pleasure. Such a mark of esteem had already been presented to two great political personages — Marshal Ney, at the time of the act of mediation, and Prince Metternich, who had received it from the aristocracy of Berne, acting under the influence of the events of 1815. As a new mark of esteem and confidence, in June, 1834, Louis Napoleon was appointed captain of artillery in the Berne regiment.



He disdained no kind of distinction. Every year the canton of Berne summoned to solemn festivals, as in ancient times, the ablest marksmen of all Switzerland, to display their skill. The prince was always invited, and often bore away flags and wreaths, the prizes of the conqueror, amid the acclamations of the assembly.

There was no kind of gymnastic exercise in which he did not also distinguish himself at this time. He excelled in horsemanship ; he often swam across the Lake of Constance ; he displayed great personal strength in the management of arms and in spear combats after the Polish manner. This was the result of his thoroughly Spartan education.

Switzerland was not the only nation that appreciated his merits. After the triumph of the constitutional cause in Portugal had raised Donna Maria to the throne, the principal men of that country proposed to Louis Napoleon the idea of uniting himself by marriage to the young queen, and thus of enjoying the honor of directing the destinies of an independent nation. But the prince declined this offer for two highly honorable reasons. First, he would not accept of any elevation which might separate his fate and his interests from the fate and the interests of France ; secondly, he was fully resolved to avoid all rivalry with his cousin, the young Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Prince Eugene, on whom another party had already cast their eyes, and who, in fact, espoused the queen shortly after.

But the duke soon dying, the same proposals were again made to the prince with greater earnestness than ever. Again he refused. In December, 1835, the following letter on this subject appeared in the public press : —

"Several journals have published the intelligence of my departure for Portugal, as a pretender to the hand of Queen Donna Maria. However flattering for me may be the idea of a union with a young queen, beautiful and virtuous, widow of a cousin whom I tenderly loved, still it is my duty to refute such a report, as no step of mine, that I am aware of, could have furnished any grounds for announcing it.

"I may even add that, notwithstanding the strong interest attached to the destinies of a people who have just recovered their independence, I would refuse the honor of sharing the throne of Portugal, if by any chance I should be offered such an exalted position.

"The noble conduct of my father, who abdicated in 1810, because he could not reconcile the interests of France with those of Holland, has not escaped my recollection.

"My father has proved to me, by his own example, how much to be preferred my country is to a seat on a foreign throne. I feel, in effect, that, habituated from my childhood to love my country above all things, I can prefer nothing to the interests of France. Convinced that the great name which I bear will not be always regarded by my countrymen as a ground for exclusion, reminding them as it does of fifteen years of glory, I wait calmly, in a free and hospitable country, until the people recall those exiles that were banished in 1815 by twelve hundred thousand foreigners. This hope of one day serving France, as a citizen and as a soldier, strengthens and consoles me in my retirement, and, in my eyes, is worth all the thrones in the world."

Towards the end of the year 1835, the prince published his "Manual of Artillery, for the Use of the Artillery Officers of the Helvetic Republic."

Not supposing that our readers generally are *military* enough to bestow much interest on a detailed account of the contents of this book, we will present a few extracts, taken from a review of the work which appeared in the *Spectateur Militaire* of March, 1836.

“The author has told us every thing worth knowing regarding artillery, whether field, siege, or stationary. He has laid under contribution many of the best documents for the instruction of our troops and the service of our establishments, so that this Manual must come to be highly esteemed and much sought after by French officers. The author shows himself intimately acquainted with all remarkable innovations, with all important improvements, particularly those adopted by foreign powers, often so little known in France, and about which we are so curious: in a word, science has, as much as possible, *been brought down to the present day*.

“The work opens, by way of introduction, with an historical relation of the invention and progress of artillery to the present time. The plan of the work is well conceived: it may be considered as divided into three parts, of which the first treats of field artillery; the second, of siege and stationary artillery; and the third, of the manufactories and constructions directly springing from the use of artillery.

“Having made us acquainted with the personal and material organization of the Helvetic Confederation, the author gives rules for manœuvring the pieces on the field of battle; and the little treatise on the service and management of the artillery on the march and in action is one of the most remarkable chapters in the book. It is followed by that part of the science known under the name of ‘Theory for the elevation and pointing of guns.’

The author shows himself clear and exact ; he sums up very explicitly all that has been, so far, admitted regarding initial velocities.

“ The first part closes with a collection of correct and very valuable tables.

“ In what we call the second part, the author has fortification in view, and treats of the employment of artillery in the attack and defence of fortified places. It also contains a short treatise on temporary fortification, very well written.”

We will pass over the analysis of the third part, which treats of the manufacture of gunpowder, the casting of cannon, &c., and will close those unconnected extracts by the concluding remarks of the able reviewer. “ In looking over this book, it is impossible not to be struck with the laborious industry of which it is the fruit. Of this we can get an idea by the list of authors, French, German, and English, that he has consulted ; and this list is no vain catalogue. We can find in the text the ideas, and often the very expressions, of the authorities which he has quoted. When we consider how much study and perseverance must have been employed to succeed in producing only the literary part (for even the illustrations scattered through the work are from the author’s own designs) of a book that requires such profound and varied attainments, and when we remember that this author was born on the steps of a throne, we cannot help being seized with admiration for the man who thus bravely meets the shock of adversity.”

The author of “ Letters from London,” speaking of Louis Napoleon’s mode of life at Arenenberg, has the following passage : —

“ From his tenderest youth he despised the habits of

an effeminate life. Although his mother allowed him a considerable sum for his amusements, these were the last things he thought of. All this money was spent in acts of beneficence, in founding schools or houses of refuge, extending the circle of his studies, in printing his military or political works, or in making scientific experiments. His mode of life was always frugal and rather rude. At Arenenberg it was quite military. His room, situated not in the castle, but in a small pavilion beside it, offered none of the grandeur or elegance so prevalent in Hortense's apartments. It was, in truth, a regular soldier's tent. Neither carpet nor arm chair appeared there ; nothing that could indulge the body ; nothing but books of science, and arms of all kinds. As for himself, he was on horseback at break of day, and before any one had risen in the castle, had ridden several leagues ; he then went to work in his cabinet. Accustomed to military exercises, as good a rider as could be seen, he never let a day pass without devoting some hours to sword and lance practice, and the use of infantry arms, which he managed with extraordinary rapidity and address."

Thus the young prince continued for some time to alleviate, by active physical training, study, and useful publications, the weary monotony of an exile to which his name alone had condemned him. But his own name, known at most to military *littérateurs* and political speculators, swallowed up in the vortex of a thousand other questions, seemed to be unknown to the minds of the masses, when suddenly a startling event, the affair of Strasburg, rendered it in a moment familiar to the lips of the world.

This, as the novelists say, deserves a chapter for itself.

## CHAPTER V.

*Napoleonic Reaction. — Country restless under Louis Philippe. — Louis Napoleon persuaded by Partisans that his Time is come. — Opinions entertained of the Prince at the Period. — Chateaubriand. — Lafayette. — Armand Carrel. — Personal Appearance. — Decides on making an Attempt at Strasburg. — His Letter on the Subject. — Failure. — Universal Ridicule. — Extract from a German Newspaper of the Time. — Louis Napoleon imprisoned and exiled. — His Accomplices tried and acquitted.*

THESE different publications, announced in the papers, spread over France, necessarily induced reflecting men to bestow some thought on the author, the nephew of the emperor, that wonderful man whose glory seemed to multiply day by day in the hearts of the nation.

The government of Louis Philippe well understood that the way to render itself popular was to cherish the recollections of the empire. The statue of the emperor had been restored to the summit of the pillar in the Place Vendome, and active measures had been taken to complete the erection of the triumphal Arc de l'Etoile, with all its sculptured military glories of the imperial era. The throne of July thought by thus acting to surround itself with a dazzling aureola for its own proper interest ; but the sentiment, so powerfully awakened, inspired Louis Napoleon's partisans also with the idea of attempting some decisive enterprise, and they soon involved the prince in the hazardous essay of a plot against the government of Louis Philippe.

Circumstances seemed favorable. For the last twenty years the tale of the wonderful actions of Napoleon had been heating the imaginations, especially of the younger

generation; and the Napoleonic sentiment, as has been just said, was only intensified by the efforts of the government of July to draw on itself a ray of the glorious era. On the other hand, the opposition had become more bitter than ever in denouncing what was called the ambiguous and anti-French policy of the throne. The disturbances at Paris and in the provinces, and the disbanding of the National Guards at Lyons, Strasburg, Grenoble, and elsewhere, revealed a very discontented state of society. In short, every thing conspired to make the friends of Louis Napoleon confident that at the first signal the people would rise to a man, and enthusiastically rally round the lamented standards of the empire. We readily believe what we desire to be true. Sufficient preparations, or what seemed so, were not long in being taken, and the shell soon burst.

Before entering into the details of what was afterwards called the "mad affair of Strasburg," it may not be uninteresting to try what was personally thought of Louis Napoleon about this time. Chateaubriand had seen him in Switzerland in 1832, and with what interest this profound genius continued to regard him we may judge from the following extract from a letter written at Lucerne.

"Prince, you know that my young king is in Scotland, and that as long as he lives I can consider none else king of France. But if God, in his impenetrable designs, had rejected the race of St. Louis; if our country should think proper to amend a choice which she has not sanctioned; and if our customs did not render a republican condition impossible, — then, prince, there is no name to harmonize better with the glory of France than yours."

In 1833 Lafayette, at an interview which he had asked of the prince, testified his regret for having opposed the emperor in 1815, and especially for having established the government of July. He besought him earnestly to seize the first occasion to return to France. "For," said he, "the government cannot maintain itself; your name is the only popular one." In short, he promised to assist him with all the means in his power when the moment arrived.

Armand Carrel, the famous editor of the *National*, said, "The political and military works of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte announce a deep intellect and a noble disposition. The name which he bears is the greatest of modern times, and the only one which can excite the sympathies of the French people. He is called to play a great part."

The prince was then a young man of twenty-eight. The author of "Letters from London" has thus sketched his portrait :—

"He is middle-sized, of an agreeable countenance, and has a military air. To personal advantages he joins the more seductive distinction of manners, simple, natural, and full of good taste and ease. At first sight I was struck with his resemblance to Prince Eugene and the Empress Josephine, his grandmother; but I did not remark a like resemblance to the emperor. It is true that his face, having neither the oval shape, nor the full cheeks, nor the bilious complexion of his uncle's countenance, the general appearance is without some of those peculiarities which we remark in the head of the emperor, and which never fail to impart to the poorest portraits a certain resemblance to the original. His mustaches, besides, and the imperial on his chin, impress his



countenance with a character too decidedly military not to injure his resemblance to his uncle. But by attentively observing the essential features, that is, those not depending on more or less fulness, or on more or less beard, we will soon discover that the Napoleonic type is reproduced with astonishing fidelity. It is, in fact, the same lofty forehead, broad and straight, the same nose, of fine proportions, the same gray eyes, though the expression is milder; it is particularly the same contour and inclination of the head; the latter especially, when the prince turns, is so full of the Napoleon air as to make a soldier of the old guard thrill at the sight; and if the eye rests on the outline of these forms so correct, it is impossible not to be struck, as if before the head of the emperor, with the imposing grandeur of the Roman profile, of which the lines so defined, so grave, I will even add, and so solemn, are, as it were, the seal of great destinies.

“The distinguishing expression of the features of the young prince is that of nobleness and gravity; and yet far from being harsh, his countenance, on the contrary, breathes a sentiment of mildness and benevolence. It seems that the maternal type, which is preserved in the lower part of his face, has come to correct the rigidity of the imperial lines, as the blood of the Beauharnois seems to have tempered in him the southern violence of the Napoleon blood.

“But what excites the greatest interest is, that indefinable tinge of melancholy and thoughtfulness, observable in the slightest movement, and revealing the noble sufferings of exile.

“But after this portrait you must not figure to yourself one of those elegant young men, those Adonises of

romance, that excite the admiration of the drawing-room. Nothing of effeminacy in the young Napoleon. The dark shadows of his countenance indicate an energetic nature; his assured look, his glance, at once quick and thoughtful, every thing about him, points out one of those exceptional natures, one of those great souls, that live by meditating on great things, and that alone are capable of accomplishing them."

In July, 1836, the prince repaired to Baden, in order to learn the opinion of the country by a closer proximity to France. Here he received the visits of several officers belonging to the regiments then garrisoned in Alsace and Lorraine. Among these he found one in particular, who seemed to unite all the conditions necessary for the accomplishment of the projects which he meditated. This was Colonel Vaudrey, of the fourth regiment of artillery, and at the time commanding all the artillery at Strasburg. To him Louis Napoleon explained his intentions in the following terms:—

"A revolution is excusable — is legitimate — only when it takes place for the benefit of the nation. Now, ours should be so, for we use only moral influence to render it successful. If the Napoleon cause has left sufficiently deep recollections in the heart of the French, I will only have to show myself to the soldiers and to the people, and to remind them of their recent grievances and their past glory, to induce them to range themselves around my flag. I do not wish to *conspire*, in the usual meaning of the word; for the men on whom I rely are not bound to me by oaths, but by a closer and stronger tie — mutual sympathy for every thing that concerns the happiness and glory of the French people. If I succeed in exciting one regiment, if soldiers who do not know

me kindle at the sight of the imperial eagle, then all the chances shall be in my favor ; my cause will be morally triumphant, even if secondary obstacles should overthrow it. France is democratic, but she is not republican. By democracy I mean the government of an individual, according to the wishes of all, and by republicanism, the government of many, according and in obedience to a system. France wants national institutions, as representing her rights ; a name or a family, as representing her interests. That is to say, she wants the popular principles of the republic, together with the stability of the empire ; her national dignity, her internal order and prosperity, without her conquests. She might envy the restoration its foreign alliances, but of what feature in the present government can she approve ?

“My intention is to come with a banner, the most popular, the most glorious of all ; to use as a rallying point every thing generous and national in all parties ; to restore to France her dignity, without universal war ; her liberty, without licentiousness ; her stability, without despotism ; and to succeed in such a result, what must be done ? To draw all our strength and all our hopes from the masses ; for the masses belong to reason and justice.” Vaudrey promised to second the daring project with all his influence.

The plan decided upon by the prince was, to appear suddenly in some considerable fortress, to rally the people and the garrison around him by the prestige of the name of Napoleon, and to hasten in forced marches to Paris, on the route inducing the troops and the National Guards to accompany him. Strasburg was the spot selected for the execution of this project.

The following version of the affair is altogether

founded on the facts that were elicited during the subsequent trials.

At six o'clock in the morning of October 30, 1836, Louis Napoleon suddenly made his appearance in Strasburg. Assisted by his friend Parquin, commander of the gens d'armes, and by Colonel Vaudrey of the fourth regiment of artillery, then in garrison at Strasburg, the prince made an attempt to rally the soldiers of the place around him. A part of the officers and the soldiers of Vaudrey's regiment responded to his call.

Some of these, led by the Count de Gricourt, ran to the City Hall, and entered it without difficulty. The prefect of the city was still in bed, but they soon forced their way to his chamber. Fearing the motive of the disturbance, this functionary spent more than half an hour dressing, hoping to gain time and afford the public authorities an opportunity of coming to his deliverance. To the menaces of the soldiers he replied with the utmost coolness and repeated protestations against the folly of their insurrection. At last he had to yield to force, and was led to the Quarter Austerlitz, where he was immediately confined.

In the mean time the other insurgents proceeded to the residence of General Voirol, commander of the military division. He had hardly time to dress before they were in his presence. Louis Napoleon advanced as if to embrace him. "Leave me," cried the general; "I do not recognize you." And he represented to the party the guilt of their conduct. "O, come, general," said the prince; "you, who have known the emperor, and have served under his orders, cannot think of repelling me. Consider, France expects me with impatience."

"Monsieur, you are strangely abused if you are told

so," replied the general, in a severe tone. Then turning to Colonel Vaudrey, he expressed his sorrowful surprise at seeing him engaged in such an enterprise.

"Your conduct," he added, "shows great ingratitude towards me. I had so much confidence in you, and always regarded you with affection."

"You do me injustice, general," replied Colonel Vaudrey, "It is precisely my affection for your person which has determined me to this step. I wish to save you. Know that the whole garrison is engaged in the insurrection, and that all resistance on your part is useless, and would only destroy you."

"Not at all," exclaimed the general; "you shall not deceive me by such assurances: the garrison will do its duty, I am confident, and you shall soon be convinced of your isolation."

The prince, finding him so impracticable, left him in charge of a file of soldiers, and withdrew. Shortly after, three officers of artillery and one of the staff succeeded in making their way to the general, who, with their assistance, after a short struggle, freed himself from the throng, and proceeded to the City Hall. He immediately ordered the drawbridge of the citadel raised, to cut off communication with the city. He soon retired to the citadel himself, for there the sixteenth regiment of the line was quartered, on which he thought he could rely.

In fact, the soldiers of this regiment had made part of the camp of Compiègne; they had seen the princes of the reigning family, and this recollection, perhaps, kindling their enthusiasm, they received the commander with loud shouts of "*Vive le roi!*" — Long live the king! This enthusiasm communicating itself, like electricity, through all the garrison, gained over the cannoneers of

the fourth artillery, whom surprise had thrown into a momentary irresolution.

Meanwhile the prince, escorted by the little troop which Colonel Vaudrey had secured him, leaving the general's residence, had hastened through the principal streets of the city, amid loud cries of "*Vive Napoleon!*" and repaired to the barracks, Finckmatt, the quarters of the forty-sixth of the line. By an untoward circumstance the troops separated on the route, and in the confusion the greater part lost their way. The prince, followed by some officers and about four hundred men, entered the barrack yard, where he expected to find the regiment under arms. They had not left their rooms yet, however, though attracted by the tumult; and hearing the name of Napoleon pronounced, they soon collected in great numbers, thronged around the prince, and shouted "*Vive Napoleon! Vive l'Empereur!*" with as much enthusiasm as their companions had just displayed at the barrack of Austerlitz.

In the mean time, Lieutenant Laity, of the battalion of the pontoneers, had announced the matter to his soldiers, and was now marching at their head to join the prince; Lieutenant Schuller had arrested a brigadier general, and the colonel of the third artillery; M. Lombart was getting the proclamations printed and distributed; Lieutenant Pietri had made himself master of the telegraph, and the third regiment of artillery had taken arms, and was marching to the spot, having at its head a great number of officers.

In a word, affairs had assumed a very favorable aspect; a moment longer and he would have found himself master of five thousand men. But in a moment all was changed. Colonel Taillandier arrives. He is told the

nephew of the emperor is present with the fourth regiment of artillery ; but he cannot believe such an extraordinary story. "Soldiers," he cries, "you are deceived : the man that excites your enthusiasm can be only an adventurer, an impostor." A staff officer exclaims at the same time, "That is not the emperor's nephew ; he is Colonel Vaudrey's ; I know him." Many of the soldiers, believing themselves the dupes of an unworthy artifice, become furious. Colonel Taillandier acts on the crisis, collects the soldiers, orders the gates to be closed and the charge to be beaten. The partisans of the prince, on their side, try to collect the soldiers that have joined them ; but all the regiments are mixed up — the officers can do nothing — all wear the same uniform. No one strikes a blow — he may kill a friend. A word from the prince or from the colonel would be enough to give the signal for the frightful massacre. Such a word is not given, and Louis Napoleon is soon led away, a prisoner, together with the officers who had assisted him in the enterprise.

The commander, Voirol, having made sure of the sentiments of the sixteenth of the line, as we have seen, put himself at its head, and returned to the city, to awe the factions by an imposing demonstration. He intended to go to the barracks where the prefect had been confined ; but this magistrate had been already released, and the conspirators arrested. The whole affair hardly lasted an hour. The citizens of Strasburg viewed it all with perfect indifference, and the public tranquillity was scarcely disturbed. The following proclamation had been scattered in great quantities through the city : —

"In 1830, a government was imposed on France, without consulting either the people of Paris, or the people of the provinces, or the army.

"Frenchmen! all that has been done without your concurrence is illegitimate.

"A national congress, elected by all the citizens, can alone have the right of choosing what is most suitable for France.

"Paris, in 1830, taught us how to overthrow a tyrannical government; let us teach Paris how to consolidate the liberties of a great people."

But the good people of Strasburg, who, according to the French custom, had accepted the issue of the event, remained quite indifferent, both to the proclamation of the prince and to the excitement of his attempt.

It was not so through Europe generally. The news excited a profound sensation. When the particulars, however, became known, surprise gave place to contempt, and the newspapers were, as usual, full of sneers and jokes, and wise denunciations against the abortive attempt and its unfortunate leader.

An extract from a German journal may not be out of place here. "This, then, is the great imperialist party! and it has wished to try its strength! Every body knew the famous saying of Metternich — 'To act Bonapartism without Bonaparte is folly.' Sensible people fully understood it; an ambitious youth did not understand it. He thought he could march from Strasburg to Paris, and in his delirious frenzy he repeated the cry of the fugitive from Elba, 'Let the eagle fly from tower to tower, to the summits of Notre Dame.' Senseless! Where is the voice to command it, — this immortal eagle? Does the coffin in St. Helena open to restore the great captain to the world." Let *him*, indeed, come back, with his banners and his trophies, with his genius and his sword. Then France, perhaps, would waver, and



Europe, running to arms, would know what danger she had to anticipate.

“But an inexperienced stripling! A young hair-brain, without genius, without talent, without renown, without any glory to accompany him, without any title to decorate him, — what does he wish? That thirty millions of men bow down before him? That what was conquered by the sword of his uncle should be offered to *him*, presented with homage, as a legitimate inheritance due to his political nullity, to his profound obscurity? ‘But I had a Napoleon in my family!’ That is your only claim on a nation which has thrown whole dynasties into the balance, and which has reckoned as nothing all the glory accumulated from Henry IV. to Louis XIV., and the last of the Bourbons. Come and reign by virtue of a family right, because your name is Bonaparte! In truth, as much as this military glory is worthy of admiration, so much is this pretended legitimacy deserving of our pity! Behold it, then, this imperialist party, like the republicans, like the legitimists, expiring in its turn, dashed to pieces against the throne of July! The mad affair is ended. Authority has resumed its power, and it is now proved that *bodyguard revolutions*, despite the examples of Spain and Portugal, are not always certain of success, and may become fatal to the authors.”

This burst, however natural at the time, is curious to read to-day. What a reply this unknown stripling, without glorious antecedents, has given to these constructors of sonorous and swelling periods! Not that he was not too young at the time. The experience of many long years was still necessary to prepare him to wield the sceptre of the French nation with dignity and ability; but the sequel has proved that the Napoleon

sentiment was not "dashed to pieces," as they were pleased to say, "against the throne of July." He is reproached for his obscurity. But such enterprises, culpable and foolish as he himself, when arrived at a more advanced age, confessed them to be, had at least one advantage—that of drawing him forth from an obscurity which weighed on him like tons of lead.

The government, as was to be expected, was exceedingly exasperated. It would have wished to try the prisoners by court martial; but the law on this point was formal. Some of the prisoners were not military; and the quality of these persons not only exempted themselves from all accountability to military jurisdiction, but even gave their accomplices the right of appealing for trial before a civil tribunal. Still the government was confident of the issue. "Every measure is taken," said one of the organs, in a very menacing tone, "to administer justice as promptly as is authorized by the laws, and without infringing on the rights of defence, to render every satisfaction demanded by an outraged society."

During the interrogatory to which the prince was subjected, he showed great calmness, and replied frankly to every question, only he refused to name the friends that he expected to find in France, affirming that he had decided on making the attempt chiefly because assured that he had only to show himself at any point on the frontiers, and then to march in triumph to Paris.

After a confinement of a few days he was brought to the capital, where, however, he was permitted to remain but an hour or two, the government having determined to send him to America.

To this decision it was induced by several considera-

tions. In the first place, the youth, and especially the great name of the prince, far from "outraging" society, excited a very general public sympathy in his favor; then the government, just at that time, notwithstanding the recent attempt of Fieschi, felt sufficient confidence in its own stability to display its generosity; Hortense's earnest solicitations for mercy towards her only remaining son had a powerful effect; and last of all, a strong precedent was pleaded in his behalf—the liberation of the Duchess of Berri, after her abortive insurrection in La Vendée. This precedent the national conscience seems to have sanctioned.

The government of course pretended to ignore these reasons. Their ostensible grounds for mildness were principally the fact that the prince's previous exile, not brought on him by his own acts, but solely by circumstances over which he had no control, had almost sufficiently punished him beforehand for his late wicked attempt. But such a plea could not be allowed in favor of the *other* prisoners. *They* had not been exiled; *they* had duties to perform, oaths to respect; and they should now bear the utmost vengeance of the offended laws. So, whilst Louis Napoleon was crossing the Atlantic in *Andromède*, to be landed in the United States, the accomplices of his insurrection were standing their trial, and every effort was made to insure their conviction.

But it seemed too great a contradiction to let the principal escape, and try to involve his instruments in punishment. The following letter from the prince was read in the court:—

"Despite my desire to remain with my companions in misfortune, and to share their fate, the king, in his clemency, has ordered me to be transported to America. I

appreciate as I ought the goodness of the king ; but I keenly regret that I cannot appear at the bar of the tribunal to explain the steps by means of which I have led my friends to destruction. Certainly we are all guilty ; but the most guilty is myself."

The efforts of government were vain. While the king's clemency in favor of Louis Napoleon was excused, even appreciated, the inconsistent conduct of the ministry was denounced as vindictiveness. To the joy of the nation, the jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*.

Such was the immediate issue of the affair of Strasburg. Though nearly forgotten now, it created no small excitement at the time. It is evident, all through, that Louis Napoleon had been greatly imposed upon by his friends, when they represented—deceiving themselves, no doubt—France as ripe for revolt. The only excuse, if it be an excuse, that can be alleged in its favor, is, as was said before, that it served to drag him out of the terrible oblivion that was fast swallowing up himself and his family—it set his name in a conspicuous position before the eyes of mankind, rendering him, for a while at least, an object of interest to millions, who otherwise would have never heard of his existence—it directed the thoughts of the masses on his claims and antecedents ; and this, perhaps, was not without its effect, when at last, by an amount of suffrage never paralleled for its numbers in the history of the world, he was elevated to the highest position, in one of the mightiest kingdoms of the earth.

It has been without doubt remarked, that in the account of the attempt which we have just given, very little is said of the prince's personal share in the transaction, and also that little or no enthusiasm appeared to be mani-

fested at his appearance, except on the one occasion when it terminated so abruptly. But it must be recollected that this account is mostly based on the evidence given at the trial, where the prince was not regarded as accused, and where every demonstration of the people or the army in his favor was, as much as possible, suppressed. This must have greatly contributed to the general contempt with which the affair was regarded for some time; but while he was sailing to America, he sent a letter to his mother that considerably changed the look of things. This letter, though it does not materially contradict our account, yet throws such new light on the subject, is written in such a clear, concise style, and withal comes from such an authentic source, that we have no hesitation in presenting its most important parts to our readers. We had at first intended to use it in making out our narrative, but soon concluded that it was interesting enough to stand by itself.

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## CHAPTER VI.

*Louis Napoleon's Letter to his Mother, regarding the Affair of Strasburg. — Confident in his Hopes of Success. — The Rendezvous. — Six in the Morning. — Colonel Vaudrey. — Address to the Fourth Artillery. — Enthusiasm. — Unsuccessful Attempt on General Voirol. — Total Failure in the Barracks Finckmatt. — Imprisoned and examined. — Sent to Paris. — Banished to America. — Letter to O'Dillon Barrot.*

"MOTHER," he commenced, "to give you a detailed account of my misfortunes, is to renew your sufferings and my own; and still it is at the same time a consola-

tion, both for you and me, to acquaint you with the impressions which I have received, and the emotions which I have endured, since the end of October. You know under what pretext I left Arenenberg, but you do not know what was then passing in my heart. Firm in my conviction, which made me look on the Napoleon cause as the only national cause in France, and as the only civilizing cause in Europe — proud of the nobleness and purity of my intentions — I was fully determined to raise the imperial eagle, or fall a victim to my political faith. I set out, travelling on the same road as I had followed three months before, when going from Urkich to Baden: every thing was still the same around me as then, but how different were the emotions by which I was now agitated! Then I was cheerful and serene as the summer sky; but now, stern and thoughtful, my spirit seemed tinged with the gloom of the sombre October day. I shall be asked why I abandoned a happy life to run the risks of a hazardous enterprise. I will reply that a secret voice drew me on, and that for nothing in the world would I defer to a future period an attempt that seemed to present so many immediate chances of success.

“And my most painful thought this moment is, that *now*, since reality has entered fancy, and in place of imagining I can judge, I remain more than ever convinced that if I had been able to follow out the plan I had originally decided upon, instead of being at this moment under the equator, I would be in my country. Of what importance to me are those vulgar cries that call me fool, because I have not succeeded, and that would have exaggerated my merit if I had? I take upon myself all the responsibility of the event, for I have acted from

my own conviction, and not from the inducement of others. Alas ! if I were the only victim I would have little to lament. I have found in my friends a boundless devotion ; and I have no reproaches to make against any one whomsoever. I left Lahr early on the 28th, and arrived at eleven at night at Strasburg, without having met with any untoward accident. My carriage stopped at the Hotel de la Fleur, while I went to pass the night in a little chamber which had been engaged for me in the Rue Fontaine.

“ There I saw Colonel Vaudrey, and I submitted to him the plan of operations which I had sketched ; but the colonel, whose noble and generous sentiments deserved a better fate, said, ‘ There is no question here of a conflict with arms ; your cause is too French and too pure to pollute it by spilling French blood. There is only one means of acting which is worthy of you, and thereby you will avoid all collision. When you are at the head of my regiment we shall march together to General Voirol’s ; an old soldier will never resist the sight of you or of the imperial eagle as soon as he knows that the garrison is in your favor.’ I approved of his reasons, and every thing was decided upon for the following morning. A house had been taken in a street in the neighborhood of the Quarter of Austerlitz, where we were all to meet, and proceed thence to those barracks as soon as the regiment of artillery was assembled.

“ That night, at eleven o’clock, one of my friends came to Rue de la Fontaine to bring me to the general rendezvous. We traversed the whole city together ; a bright moon illumined the streets : I took this fine night as a favorable omen for next day : I attentively remarked the places through which I passed. The silence reigning

around made an impression on me : by what shall this tranquillity be succeeded to-morrow ?

“ ‘ However,’ said I to my companion, ‘ there shall be no disorder if I succeed ; for it is especially to prevent the disorders always consequent on popular movements that I have wished to attempt the revolution by means of the army. But,’ I added, ‘ what confidence, what a profound conviction, we must have in the justice of our cause, to face the dangers which we are about to incur ! How public opinion will tear us to pieces — will cover us with reproaches — if we do not succeed ! And yet I take God to witness that it is not to satisfy a personal ambition, but because I believe I have a mission to fulfil, that I risk what is dearer to me than life — the esteem of my fellow-citizens.’

“ On arriving at the house, in the Rue des Orphelins, I found my friends in two rooms in the basement. I thanked them for the devotion which they manifested for my cause, and told them from that moment we should share our good or our evil fortune together. One of the officers brought forward an eagle : it was that which had belonged to the seventh regiment of the line. ‘ The Eagle of Labedoyere ! ’ they exclaimed, and each of us pressed it to his heart with lively emotion. All the officers were in full uniform : I had put on the artillery uniform, and wore a chief officer’s hat.

“ The night appeared very long. I passed it in writing my proclamations, which I would not get printed beforehand for fear of indiscretion. We were to remain in this house until the colonel would send me word to proceed to the barracks. We counted the hours, the minutes, the seconds. Six was the appointed moment. How difficult it is to express what we feel in



such circumstances ! In a second one lives more than in ten years ; for to live is to make use of our organs, our senses, our faculties, all the parts of ourselves which impart the sentiment of existence ; and in these critical moments our faculties, our organs, our senses, exalted to the highest degree, are concentrated on one single point ; it is the hour to decide our destiny. We are morally strong when we can say, ‘To-morrow I shall be the deliverer of my country or I shall be dead.’ Unhappy is he who is so circumstanced that he cannot be either the one or the other ! In spite of our precautions, the noise that a certain number of persons assembled together cannot help making, awoke the people overhead : we heard them get up and open the windows. But it was only five o’clock. We redoubled our prudence, and they lay down again.

“ At last it struck six. Never had the strokes of a clock sounded so violently in my heart ; but an instant after the bugle from the Quarter of Austerlitz came to accelerate its throbbings. The great moment was approaching. Suddenly a noisy tumult was heard outside : soldiers hastened through the streets shouting : horsemen rode at full gallop past our windows. I sent an officer to learn the cause of this uproar. Had the commanders of the place been informed of our projects ? Had we been discovered ? But my messenger soon returned with the news that it was only the soldiers going to fetch their horses, which were outside the quarter. A few more minutes passed, when I was told the colonel was waiting for me. Full of hope I rush into the street ; M. Parquin, in the uniform of a brigadier general, and a commander of a battalion, are by my side. A dozen of officers or so attend us.

“The distance was short, and was soon traversed. We found the regiment drawn up in form of battle in the barrack yard inside the rails : upon the grass were stationed forty of the horse artillery.

“Mother, conceive the happiness I felt at that moment ! After twenty years of exile, I touched, at last, the sacred soil of my country ; I found myself with Frenchmen whom the recollection of the emperor was again to electrify !

“Colonel Vaudrey stood alone in the middle of the yard. I proceeded towards him. Immediately the colonel, whose noble countenance and fine figure had at the moment something of the sublime, drew his sword and exclaimed, —

“ ‘ Soldiers of the fourth artillery ! A great revolution is being accomplished this moment ! You see before you the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon ; he comes to reconquer the rights of the people ; the people and the army can rely upon him. It is around him that all who love the glory and the liberty of France should rally. Soldiers ! you must, like your chief, feel all the grandeur of the enterprise which you are about to attempt, all the sacredness of the cause which you are about to defend. Soldiers ! can the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon rely upon your fidelity ? ’

“His voice was immediately drowned in unanimous cries of ‘ *Vive Napoleon !* ’ ‘ *Vive l’Empereur !* ’

“I then spoke to this effect : —

“ ‘ Resolved to conquer or die for the cause of the French people, it is to you that I have wished to present myself in the first instance, because between you and me exist great recollections ; it is in your regiment that the emperor, my uncle, served as captain ; it is with you that he made his name famous at the siege of Toulon ;

and it is your brave regiment again that opened the gates of Grenoble for him on his return from Elba. Soldiers! new destinies are in store for you. To you is accorded the honor of commencing a great enterprise; to you the honor of being the first to salute the eagle of Austerlitz and Wagram.'

"I then snatched the eagle from the hands of M. de Querelle, one of my officers, and presenting it to them:—

" 'Soldiers!' I continued, 'behold the symbol of the glory of France, destined also to become the emblem of liberty. For fifteen years it led our fathers to victory, it glittered on all the battle fields, it traversed all the capitals of Europe. Soldiers! will you not rally round this noble standard which I intrust to your honor and to your courage? Will you not march with me against traitors and the oppressors of our country, to the cry of "*Vive la France! Vive la liberte!*"'

"A thousand shouts responded in the affirmative. We commenced our march, the band playing in front; joy and hope sparkled on every countenance. The plan was to hasten to the general, and by presenting, not a dagger to his throat, but the eagle before his eyes, to induce him to join us. To reach his house we should pass through the whole city. On the way, I had to send an officer with a company of men to the printer's to publish my proclamation; another to the prefect, to arrest him; in short, they received so many special missions, that when we arrived at the general's, I had voluntarily parted with a pretty large share of my forces. But was it necessary to surround myself with so many soldiers? Was I not relying on the participation of the people? And, in truth, whatever may have been said to the contrary, all along the route, I received the most

unequivocal signs of the sympathy of the population. I had actually to struggle against the vehemence of the marks of interest which were showered on me, and the difference of the tones that welcomed me showed that there was no party which did not sympathize with the emotions of my heart.

“Having arrived at the general’s hotel, I ascended, followed by Vaudrey, Parquin, and two officers. The general was not yet dressed. I spoke:—

“‘General, I approach you as a friend. I would be sorry to raise our old tricolor without the assistance of a brave soldier like you. The garrison is in my favor; decide and follow me.’ We presented the eagle, but he rejected it, saying, —

“‘Prince, you have been deceived. The army knows its duty; and of this I shall soon convince you.’ Then I departed, giving orders to leave a file of men to guard him. The general afterwards presented himself before his soldiers to induce them to obedience; but the artillerymen, under the orders of M. Parquin, disregarded his authority, replying only by repeated shouts of ‘Vive l’Empereur!’ When I left his hotel I was greeted with the same acclamations of ‘Long live the emperor!’ But this check had already seriously affected me; I was not prepared for it, convinced as I had been that the first sight of the eagle would be sufficient to awake in the general old recollections of glory, and to induce him to join us.

“We again put ourselves on the march; we quitted the street, and entered the barrack of Finckmatt, by the lane leading to it from the Faubourg de Pierre. This barrack is a large building, built in a place whence there seems to be no other outlet; the ground in front is too

narrow to admit of a regiment's being drawn up there in order of battle. On seeing myself thus blocked up between the rampart and the barracks, I perceived that the plan agreed upon had not been followed out. At our arrival the soldiers thronged around us. I harangued them. The greater part ran for their arms, and returned to rally around me, testifying their sympathy by their acclamations. However, seeing them manifest a sudden hesitation, caused by the reports of some officers who tried to inspire them with doubts of my identity, and besides, as we were losing valuable time in an unfavorable position here, instead of hastening to the other regiments that expected us, I ordered the colonel to depart: he entreats me to remain a little longer: I comply with his advice: a few minutes after, it was too late. Infantry officers come up; they order the gates to be closed, and strongly reprimand their soldiers. The latter still hesitate: I order the arrest of the officers: their soldiers rescue them: then all is confusion. The space was so contracted we were all lost in the crowd. The people, who had scaled the wall, flung stones on the military. The cannoneers wished to use their arms, but we prevented them; it would have caused the deaths of many. I saw the colonel by turns arrested by the infantry and rescued by his soldiers: I was myself on the point of being slain by a number of men, who, recognizing me, presented their bayonets. I was parrying their thrusts with my sabre, trying to calm them at the same time, when the cannoneers rescued me from their guns, and placed me in the middle of themselves. I rushed then, with some subaltern officers, towards the mounted artillerymen, to seize a horse; all the infantry followed me, and I found myself hemmed in between

the horses and the wall, without being able to move. The soldiers, coming up from all sides, seized and took me to the guard room. On entering I found M. Parquin: I gave him my hand; he took it, saying, with a calm and resigned air, 'Prince, we shall be shot, but it will be a noble death.' 'Yes,' said I, 'we have fallen in a grand and noble enterprise.'

"Soon after General Voirol enters. 'Prince,' said he, 'you have found but one traitor in the French army.' 'Say rather, general, that I have found a Labedoyere.'\* Carriages were brought, which took us to the new prison.

"Behold me, then, between four walls, with barred windows, in the abode of criminals. Ah, those who know what it is to pass in a moment from the excess of happiness, caused by the noblest illusions, to the excess of misery, where there is no longer any room for hope, and to leap this immense gulf without an instant's preparation, those alone can comprehend what was passing in my heart.

"At the lodge we met again. M. de Querelles, pressing my hand, said, in a loud voice, 'Prince, in spite of our defeat, I am still proud of what we have done.' They subjected me to an examination. I was calm and resigned, for my part was taken.

"'What has induced you to act as you have done?'

"'My political opinions,' I replied, 'and a desire to see my country, from which a foreign invasion had exiled me. In 1830 I asked to be treated as a simple citizen; they treated me as a pretender. Well, I have acted as a pretender.'

\* Immediately after the *coup d'état* of 1851, Colonel Vaudrey was appointed Governor of the Hotel des Invalides.

“‘Did you wish to establish a military government?’

“‘I wished to establish a government based on popular election.’

“‘What would you have done, if successful?’

“‘I would have assembled a national congress.’

“I then said that as I had been the sole organizer, and had induced the others to join me, on my head alone should the responsibility of the whole affair rest. Led back to prison, I threw myself on the bed prepared for me, and in spite of my sufferings, sleep came to soothe my senses. But how frightful was my awaking!

“It was the fate of the men who were compromised by my misfortune, that gave me most uneasiness. I wrote to General Voirol, telling him that he was bound in honor to interest himself for Colonel Vaudrey, for it was perhaps the attachment which the colonel had entertained for him, and the regard with which he had treated him, that had been the chief cause of the failure of my enterprise. I ended with the demand that all the rigor of the law should fall on me, saying that I was the most guilty and the most to be feared.

“The general came to see me, and was very affectionate. He said on entering, ‘Prince, when I was your prisoner I had only hard words to say to you; now, since you are mine, I have only words of consolation to offer.’

“Colonel Vaudrey and I were led to the citadel, where I, at least, was better off than in the prison; but the civil power claimed us, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were put back into our former abode.

“The jailer and the governor of the prison of Strasbourg did their duty, but endeavored to alleviate my situation as much as possible; whilst a certain M. Lebel,

who had been sent from Paris, wishing to show his authority, prevented me from opening the windows to breathe the fresh air, deprived me of my watch, which he did not restore till at my departure, and, in fine, had ordered blinds to be made in my cell to keep out the light. The evening of the 9th of November, I was told that I was to be transferred into another prison. I went out and met the general and the prefect, who took me away in their carriage, without telling me in what direction I was going. I insisted on being left with my companions in misfortune, but the government had decided otherwise. Arriving at the hotel of the prefect, I found two post chaises. I was ordered into one, in company with M. Cuynat, commander of the gendarmerie of the Seine, and Lieutenant Thiboulet; in the other were four officers.

"When I found that I was to leave Strasburg, and that my fate was to be separated from that of the other accused, I felt a grief difficult to describe.

"See me forced to abandon the men who have sacrificed themselves for me; deprived of the means of making known, at my defence, my ideas and my intentions; receiving a so-called favor from the hands of one to whom I had wished to do the greatest injury. I vented my sorrow in complaints and regrets: I could only protest.

"The two officers that accompanied me were officers of the empire, intimate friends of M. Parquin, and accordingly they treated me with much kindness. I could have thought I was travelling with friends. On the 11th, at two in the morning, I arrived in Paris, at the prefecture of police. M. Delessert received me with attention; he told me that you had come to France to



implore the king's clemency in my favor, that I was to start again in two hours for Lorient, and that thence I was to sail for the United States, in a French frigate.

"I told the prefect that I was in despair at not sharing the fate of my companions in misfortune ; that, thus taken out of prison before undergoing a general examination, (the first had been only a summary one,) I was deprived of the means of testifying to many facts in favor of the accused. But these protestations being fruitless, I decided to write to the king. In my letter, I told him that, thrown into prison after having taken up arms against his government, I had but one object of dread — his generosity ; since it should deprive me of my sweetest consolation — the possibility of sharing the fate of my companions in misfortune. I added, that life was of little account to me now, but my gratitude towards him would be great, if he spared the lives of a few old soldiers, the remains of the grand army, prevailed upon by me, and seduced by glorious recollections.

"At the same time I wrote to M. O'Dillon Barrot, begging him to take charge of the defence of Colonel Vaudrey. At four o'clock I resumed my journey with the same escort, and on the 14th we arrived at the citadel of Port Louis, near Lorient. I remained there till the 21st, on which day the frigate was ready for sea."

So far Louis Napoleon to his mother.

In his letter to O'Dillon Barrot, the prince regrets his exclusion from the trial ; he would have justified his fellow-prisoners. "Of course," he continues, "in the eyes of the government, we are all guilty of having taken up arms against it ; but of all, I am the most guilty. It is I, who, long meditating a revolution, have come and dragged these men away from their honorable

social position, to precipitate them into all the hazards of a popular disturbance. Before the laws, my companions are guilty of allowing themselves to be led away ; but never were circumstances more extenuating, in the eyes of the country, than those in their favor. When I saw Colonel Vaudrey and the others, on the evening of the 29th, I addressed to them the following language : —

“Gentlemen, you are aware of the feelings of the nation towards the government of the 9th of August ; but you know also that no party exists at the present day strong enough to overthrow it, or powerful enough to unite all Frenchmen in one common cause, even if they succeeded in taking possession of the supreme power. This weakness of government, as well as this weakness of parties, proceeds from the fact that each represents the interests only of a single class of society. Some rely on the clergy and nobility, others on the middle-class aristocracy, and others on the proletarian classes alone.

“In this state of things, there is but *one* standard that can rally all parties, because it is the standard of France, and not that of faction ; it is the eagle of the empire. Under this flag, that recalls so many glorious recollections, there is no class excluded ; it represents the interests and the rights of all. The Emperor Napoleon held his power from the French people ; four times his authority received their sanction ; in 1804 the hereditary right of the family of the emperor was recognized by four million votes ; since that time, the people have never been consulted.

“As the eldest of the nephews of Napoleon, I can, then, consider myself as the representative of popular election ; I shall not say of the empire, because in twenty

years the ideas and wants of France must necessarily have changed; but a *principle* cannot be annulled by facts; it can be annulled only by *another principle*, and it is not the twelve hundred thousand strangers of 1815, nor the chamber of 321 of 1830, that can render the principle of the election of 1804 void.

“‘The Napoleon system consists in promoting civilization, without disorder and without excess; in giving an impulse to ideas by developing material interests; in strengthening power by making it respectable; in disciplining the masses according to their intellectual faculties; in short, in uniting around the altar of the country Frenchmen of all parties, by giving them fame and glory as motives of action. Let us restore,’ said I, ‘the people to their rights, the eagle to our standards, and stability to our institutions. What!’ I cried, at last; ‘princes of divine right find many men ready to die for them, to restore their abuses and their privileges; and I, whose name represents the glory, the honor, and the rights of the people, shall I die alone in exile?’ ‘No!’ exclaimed my brave companions, in reply, ‘you shall not die alone; we will die with you, or conquer together for the cause of the French people!’”

The rest of this part of the letter to O'Dillon Barrot consists of strong representations in justification of his companions, which, however, we must pass, and resume his letter to his mother, wherein he describes his wanderings over the ocean.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Continuation of Louis Napoleon's Letter to his Mother.— Leaves France.— On the Atlantic.— Rio Janeiro.— Arrives in New York.— Letter to Vieillard.— Short Stay in New York.— Called back by his Mother's Illness.— Her Death.— Laity's Pamphlet.— Louis Napoleon obliged to leave Switzerland in consequence.— Letter to the Swiss Government.— Life in London.— Publishes "Idées Napoléoniennes."*

"IN SIGHT OF MADEIRA, Dec. 12, 1836.

"I REMAINED ten days at the citadel of Port Louis ; every morning I received visits from the sous-préfet of Lorient, from the commander of the place, and from the colonel of the gendarmerie. All were full of attentions towards me, and never ceased to speak of their attachment to the memory of the emperor. I believed myself among friends, and the recollection that they were in a position hostile to me gave me much pain. The winds were contrary, and prevented the frigate from leaving port : at last, on the 21st, a steamboat took her in tow : the sous-préfet came to tell me it was time to depart. The drawbridge was lowered ; I went forth, accompanied by the hospitable officers of the place, in addition to those who brought me to Lorient ; I passed through two files of soldiers, who kept off the curious assembled to see me.

"We all entered the boats that were to take us to the frigate, which awaited us out of port. I took leave of the gentlemen with cordiality. I ascended the ladder, and saw with a heavy heart the shores of France disappear from my view.

"The first fortnight of the voyage was very disagree-

able ; we were continually tossed about by tempests and contrary winds, which drove us back as far as the Straits of Dover : during all this time it was impossible to walk a single step without holding on to whatever came within reach.

“ It was only a few days since that we heard of our destination.

“ The captain had received sealed instructions, which, having opened, he found ordered him to go to Rio, to remain there long enough to renew his provisions, to keep me on board while in port, and finally to take me to New York.

“ 14. In sight of the Canaries. Every man carries within himself a world composed of all that he has seen and loved, to which he continually returns even whilst wandering over a strange land. I do not know at such times which are the more afflicting recollections, those of evils that have befallen us, or those of happy hours now no more. We have gone through winter, and are once more in spring ; trade winds have succeeded the tempests, and allow me to remain most part of the time on deck, seated on the poop, reflecting on what has happened, thinking on you and on Arenemberg. Situations in which we are placed depend for their effect on the affection with which we regard them. Two months ago I had no wish but never to return to Switzerland again ; but now, if I yielded to my impressions, I would desire nothing more than to find myself seated in my little chamber, in the midst of that noble country, where, it seems to me, I ought to have been so happy.

“ January 1, 1837. This is New Year's Day. I am fifteen hundred leagues away from you, in another hemisphere : happily, thought traverses all this space in less

than a second. And in thought I am near you: I express all my regrets for the torments I have occasioned you; I renew the expression of my tenderness and gratitude. This morning the officers came in a body to wish me a happy new year — an attention with which I was sensibly touched. At half past four we were at table; as we are seventeen degrees west of Constance, it was at that time about seven o'clock at Arenenberg; you were then, probably, also at dinner. In thought I drank your health; perhaps you did the same towards me; at least, I took pleasure in thinking so. I also thought of my companions in misfortune. Alas! I am always thinking of them. I thought they were more unhappy than I, and this idea rendered me more unhappy even than themselves.

“January 10. We have just arrived at Rio Janeiro. The *coup d'œil* of the harbor is magnificent: to-morrow I shall make a sketch of it. I hope this letter will reach you soon. Do not think of coming to join me. I do not yet know where I shall settle; perhaps I shall find more inducements to live in South America; the labor to which, in order to create myself a position, the uncertainty of my fate will compel me, will be the only consolation I shall enjoy.

“Adieu, mother: remember me to the old servants, and all our friends of Thurgovia and Constance.”

We do not know if the prince continued his journal; we only know that he arrived a few weeks afterwards at New York. From this city he addressed to the old guardian of his brother Napoleon, M. Vicillard, at present a distinguished member of the French Senate, a letter evidently intended for the public eye, in which he

explained the objects at which he had aimed, and the motives upon which he had acted. We need hardly apologize for presenting an extract from this letter.

“I had two lines of conduct to pursue—one in some measure depending on myself, the other on events. In choosing the former, I was, as you say it well, a means ; in waiting for the latter, I was only a resource. According to my views and convictions, the first part seemed far preferable to the second. The success of my enterprise offered me the following advantages : I would have performed by a *coup de main*, in one day, the work of perhaps ten years ; if successful, I would have spared France *the struggles, the troubles, the disorders inseparable from an overthrow of government, which will occur, I think, sooner or later.* ‘The spirit of a revolution,’ says M. Thiers, ‘consists of a violent passion for the object in view, and a bitter hatred towards all those that stand in the way of its attainment.’ Having led the people on, by means of the army, we should have had the noble passions without the hatred, for hatred springs only from the struggle between physical force and moral force. As to myself, my position would have been clear, simple, and easy. Accomplishing a resolution with the assistance of only fifteen persons, on my arrival in Paris, I would have owed my success only to the people, and not to a party : arriving there victorious, I would have laid down my sword on the altar of my country of my own free will, without having been compelled to it ; then confidence might well be placed in me, for it was no longer my name alone, but my person, which became a pledge for my conduct. In the contrary case, I would have been called on only by a fraction of the people, and I would have had for enemies,

not only a feeble government, but a number of other parties, and they too, perhaps, national.

“ Besides, it is more easy to prevent anarchy than to suppress it — to direct the masses is more easy than to follow their passions. Coming as a *resource*, I was only one banner more flung into the fight, with an influence immense in the charge, but powerless in the rally. Finally, in the former case I was at the helm of a ship which has only one obstacle to conquer ; in the latter, on the contrary, I was in a vessel beaten by the winds, which, in the midst of the tempest, knows not what course to pursue. It is true that the more advantages the success of the first plan presented, the more grounds for blame resulted from its failure. But on entering France, I never thought on what part I should play in case of defeat ; if unfortunate, I should regard my proclamations as my testament, and look on death as a favor.”

This remarkable letter, written, as was said, at New York, was dated April 30, 1837.

The authors of the “ Napoleon Dynasty ” — a work, by the way, occasionally written with ability, and going over much ground, but full of the most glaring and actually absurd mistakes regarding dates, names, and facts — have the following paragraph concerning Louis Napoleon’s life in New York.

“ Although he remained here but a short time, he devoted himself with energy and zeal to the study of American politics, and investigations into the actual state of arts, sciences, and inventions. He was particularly interested in some experiments then being made in the development of electro-magnetism. He made frequent visits to the room where these experiments



were going on, in company with several of our well-known citizens ; and although it may have been thought that he was prompted by the idlest curiosity, one of the first acts of his government after the *coup d'état* of December 2, was the offer of a magnificent premium for any improvement, in any part of the world, in the electro-magnet, showing that he had not forgotten, during fifteen years, the subject in which he then professed to be so deeply interested."

He seems to have had no thought of returning to the old world ; on the contrary, he was preparing for a protracted stay in the United States, when, after a residence in New York of little more than a month, he was suddenly called back to Europe.

His mother, whose health had been failing for some time, soon felt her disorder much aggravated by the melancholy news of the unhappy Strasburg enterprise, and by her protracted separation from her son. Seeing herself obliged to undergo a dangerous operation, and fearing a catastrophe, she addressed him the following letter, dated April 3, 1837 : —

"MY DEAR SON : I am about to undergo an operation which has become absolutely necessary. If it does not succeed, I send you by this letter my last blessing. We shall meet in another world, where you will rejoin me after a long life. In quitting this, I have but one regret — to leave you and your affectionate tenderness, the greatest charm of my existence here. It will be a great consolation for you, my dear son, to think that by your cares you have rendered your mother as happy as circumstances allow her to be. I think also on all my tenderness towards you, and take courage ; remember that we

always cast an affectionate and penetrating eye on all we leave after us here below ; and surely we shall meet again. To good Arsene also I give my blessing as to a son. I embrace thee, my dear son. I am quite calm and resigned, and still hope we shall see each other in this world ; but the will of God be done.

“Thy tender mother,

“HORTENSE.”

On the receipt of this letter he immediately left New York for Europe, and arrived at Arenenberg in time to receive his mother's last blessing and her last sigh. His grief for such a loss may be imagined. From that moment he lived in almost absolute retirement, seeking consolation only in study. It was at that time he commenced an important work, which he intended to publish under the name of “Napoleonic Ideas.” Of this we shall speak in its turn.

It having been commonly rumored that Louis Napoleon had promised the French government to remain in America for ten years, people were surprised to see him settle again in Switzerland. But in a letter to M. Vieillard, spoken of above, the prince solemnly and pertinaciously denies having been even ever asked for such engagement ; and in reply to an entreaty from the ministry to Queen Hortense to use her influence in obtaining such a promise from her son, she had stated that she could exert no influence on the conduct of a young man exclusively master of his own actions.

Louis Philippe did not like to have such a neighbor. His name, now well known, his principles, his writings, his recent attempt, and above all, the uneasy state of the French mind, made him an object of very disagreeable

apprehension. Still it is possible that he might have been permitted to reside longer in Switzerland, had not a new affair in which he was engaged brought matters to a crisis.

- Ever since the time of the event at Strasburg, the enemies of the Napoleon name had taken every opportunity, by exaggerated and distorted accounts of that affair, to throw ridicule and infamy on the head of its author. M. Persigny,\* one of those concerned in that unsuccessful attempt, had retired to London, and whilst there thought it necessary to publish a refutation of these calumnies, by giving a plain statement of the whole matter. His pamphlet, published in England, easily reached other countries, Belgium, Germany, Italy; but it was only with great difficulty that it could make its way into France. But M. Laity, who had also taken an active part in the enterprise, fearlessly published another edition of this book in Paris itself, under the title of "An Historical Relation of the Events of the Third of October, 1836. Prince Napoleon at Strasburg. By Armand Laity, Ex-Lieutenant of Artillery. Paris, 1838."

As might be expected, the author was immediately arrested and accused before the Court of Peers of having provoked an attempt against the safety of the state.

The trial excited great interest. It soon became known that Laity had been Louis Napoleon's intimate companion for the last six months, and had come to Paris expressly to publish his book. This work had been distributed gratuitously, and though ten thousand copies had been printed, the ministry could seize only four hundred and six.

Louis Napoleon wrote the following letter to his

\* M. Persigny was made Secretary of the Interior soon after the "*coup d'état*" of 1851.

friend, just before his trial, to encourage him, and to furnish new grounds of defence.

“MY DEAR LAITY: You are then to appear before the Court of Peers, because you have had the generous devotion to reproduce the details of my enterprise, in order to justify my intentions, and to repel the accusations of which I have been the object. I do not comprehend why the government thinks it so important to prevent the publication of your book. You know that, in authorizing you to publish it, my only object was to repel the base calumnies with which the organs of the ministry overwhelmed me during the five months I was in prison or on the ocean. It concerned my own honor and that of my friends to prove that it was not a mad impulse that had brought me to Strasburg in 1836. They say that your pamphlet is a new conspiracy; whereas, on the contrary, it defends me from the reproach of having ever conspired at all; and it is distinctly stated in its earlier pages that we have waited nearly two years to publish the details relating to me, in order that the minds of men might be more calm, and that they could judge me without hatred and without prejudice.

“If, as I would fain believe, a spirit of justice animates the Court of Peers, if it is independent of the executive power, as the Constitution requires it to be, then there is no possibility that it can condemn you; for — I cannot too often repeat it — your pamphlet is not a new instigation to revolt, but only the simple and true explanation of a fact which has been distorted. I have nothing else in the world to rest on but public opinion, nothing to sustain me but the esteem of my fellow-citizens.

If it is not allowed to me and to my friends to defend ourselves against unjust calumnies, I shall consider my fate the most cruel that can be conceived. You know my friendship for you well enough to comprehend how I am pained at the idea of your being the victim of your devotedness ; but I also know that, with your noble character, you suffer with resignation for a popular cause. People will ask you, as already some journals do, ‘ Where is the Napoleon party ? ’ Answer, ‘ The *party* is nowhere, but the *cause* is every where. ’ The party is nowhere, because my friends are not yet mustered ; but the cause has partisans every where, from the artisan’s workshop to the king’s council chamber, from the soldier’s barrack to the palace of the Marshal of France. Republicans, Moderates, Legitimists, — all who desire a strong government, a real liberty, and an imposing attitude on the part of authority, all these, I say, are Napoleonists, whether they acknowledge it or not ; for the imperial system is not a bastard imitation of the English or American constitutions, but the governmental form of the principles of the revolution — order in democracy, equality before the law, recompense for merit ; in short, it is a colossal pyramid, with broad basis and exalted summit.

“ Say that, in authorizing you to publish this *brochure*, my aim has not been to trouble the present tranquillity of France, nor to excite the hardly-extinguished flames of passions, but to show myself to my fellow-citizens such as I am, not such as interested animosity has represented me. But if, some day, parties overthrow the present power, (the example of the last fifty years permits us such a supposition,) and if, *accustomed, as they have been for twenty-three years, to despise authority,*

*they sap all the bases of the social edifice, then, perhaps, the name of Napoleon would prove an anchor of safety for all that is generous and really patriotic in France.*

“Adieu, my dear Laity. ‘I would still have some hopes of justice, if the interest of the moment were not the only principle of parties.’”

The Italics are our own: they mark the formal prophecy of events, the accomplishment of which we have all seen.

But in spite of a powerful defence spoken by himself, and of another pronounced by his counsel, M. Michel, Laity was condemned to an imprisonment of five years, a fine of 10,000 francs (\$2000,) and, after the expiration of his term, to be subjected to the *surveillance* of the police for the remainder of his life. However, the generosity of his devotedness towards the nephew of the emperor excited warm sympathies for him universally. And a general of the empire, rich and without children, made him his heir to a fortune of 20,000 francs a year.

But, after such an act of boldness, residence in Switzerland could no longer be allowed to Louis Napoleon. The ministry of Louis Philippe demanded his expulsion from the Helvetic territory, on the ground that he had given a promise to remain ten years in America, which he had now violated by coming back to Europe. Of course they were willing to make every allowance for the honorable motive which prompted his return; but why, they asked, after closing his mother's eyes, why had he not gone back to the United States, instead of remaining on the frontiers of France, hatching conspiracies against the throne of July?

A note was addressed to the Helvetic Diet by the Duke de Montebello, French ambassador in Switzerland, formally demanding the expulsion of the prince. Such a pretension the cantons strongly resisted, as offensive at once to their independence and their affections. The government of Louis Philippe, determining on the removal, at any cost, of one whom they regarded as a dangerous enemy, ordered an armed demonstration to be made on the frontiers, thinking that the very sight of a numerous army in the neighborhood would frighten the Swiss into obedience. But the hardy republic immediately assembled 20,000 men, and war would have infallibly broken out between the two countries, had not the prince, unwilling that his name should serve as a pretext for the effusion of human blood, taken the resolution to withdraw of his own free will. Accordingly he addressed the following letter to the Helvetic Diet : —

*“To His Excellency the Landamann Anderwert, President of the Council of Thurgovia.*

“SIR : When the note of the Duke de Montebello was addressed to the Diet, I was not willing to submit to the demands of the French government ; for it was necessary for me to prove, by my refusal to depart, that I had returned to Switzerland without breaking any engagement ; that I had the right to reside there, and that there I should find aid and protection.

“Switzerland, a month ago, by her energetic protests, and now by the decisions of her Grand Councils at this time assembled, has shown that she was and is ready to make the greatest sacrifices to maintain her dignity and her rights as an independent nation. In my turn I shall know how to do *my* duty, and to remain faithful to the

voice of honor. They may persecute, but can never degrade me.

"The French government having declared that the refusal of the Diet to comply with its demand would be the signal of a conflagration, of which Switzerland was to be the victim, nothing remains for me now but to quit a country where my presence is made the ground for such unjust pretensions, and where it would become the pretext for such great misfortunes.

"I pray you, then, M. Landamann, to announce to the Federal Directory, that I shall depart as soon as the passports necessary for my journey to a place where I shall find an assured asylum are obtained from the ambassadors of the different powers.

"In leaving voluntarily, at this time, the only country in Europe where I have found support and protection, in departing from scenes which had become dear to me for so many reasons, I hope to prove to the Swiss people that I was worthy of the marks of esteem and affection which they had lavished upon me. I shall never forget the noble conduct of the cantons that have spoken so boldly in my favor; and above all, the generous protection which the canton of Thurgovia has afforded me shall remain deeply engraved on my heart.

"I hope that this separation will not be final, and that a day will come, when, without compromising the interests of two nations which ought to be friends, I can return to the asylum which a residence of twenty years and acquired rights have made a second native land.

"Have the goodness, M. Landamann, to express my sentiments of gratitude to the councils, and believe me that the thought of sparing Switzerland much trouble



is the only idea that soothes the regret which I feel in quitting her soil.

"ARENENBERG, Sept. 22, 1838."

The receipt of this letter of course put an end to all hostilities; the French troops withdrew, and Louis Napoleon took refuge in England.

The same author that we have already quoted, a friend of the prince's no doubt, thus speaks of his occupation, and the kind of life he led whilst residing in the English metropolis. "The prince is a man of industry and toil, severe towards himself, indulgent to others. From six o'clock in the morning he is in his cabinet, where he works till noon, when he takes breakfast. After this repast, which never lasts longer than ten minutes, he reads the journals and takes note of whatever is most important in the news or politics of the day. At two he receives visits; at four he goes out on his private affairs; he mounts his horse at five, and takes a run in the Park; he dines at seven, and generally finds some time in the evening to devote to his labor. As to his tastes and habits, they are those of a man who appreciates life only on its serious side; he does not value luxury for its own sake. In the morning he is dressed for the day; of all his household, he wears the plainest clothes, though there is always about his dress a certain military elegance."

His residence was at Carlton Terrace, and for the first year after his arrival in London, his principal occupation was to prepare for the press a new work, entitled "*Des Idées Napoléoniennes*" — "Thoughts on Napoleon," or, rather, "Thoughts on *Napoleonism*."

During his stay in England, and indeed on all occa-

sions generally, Louis Napoleon being singularly reserved and taciturn, his ideas at that period, on matters of importance, can only be gleaned from his writings. From his *Idées Napoléoniennes* it is clear enough that he never once despaired of one day being in possession of the sceptre of France. Of that we do not want subsequent facts to assure us. All his writings, all his correspondences, (and these he had with men of almost every party,) every act of his life at this period, was intended to bring him nearer to what he deemed the fulfilment of his mission—the reëstablishment of the Napoleonic sway over France. In fact, with all his gloom, when conversing with an American gentleman on the subject, he said that “that time should come as surely as that the ashes of Napoleon were one day to rest on the banks of the Seine.” He was not aware that this was already contemplated by the French government.

To maintain his conspicuous position in the eyes of his countrymen, the pen was still his only weapon. His restless spirit, longing for employment, having no opportunity to display itself in battle, revealed its activity by giving forth ideas. His own inclinations, as well as the absorbing interest of the subject, led him to one theme. And what would be surer to attract the attention of the French nation, than an essay, political and military, on the actions of the great captain? What topic had he himself studied more profoundly? What could be blended more intimately with the political questions of the day? Certainly none could be brought to bear more advantageously on his own peculiar position. The effect of this work must have been immense. This was not indeed immediately apparent. His failure at Boulogne and his long imprisonment at Ham show that his harvest

took some time to ripen. But of the six million voters of 1848, how many must have been influenced by the thoughts given to the world in the *Idées Napoléoniennes*?

From this work we intend to give several extracts in the next chapter. However meritorious in itself, it must now be regarded with peculiar interest, when its author is playing such a part in directing the affairs of the old world. By observing what parts of Napoleon's system he most warmly supports, we may obtain some glimpses into his own political tendencies.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*The Idées Napoléoniennes. — Objects of the Work. — Progress. — No Government established on immutable Principles. — United States and Russia, alone, are fulfilling their Mission. — Is France to do Nothing? — Napoleon the testamentary Executor of the Revolution. — Justice at last done to his Memory. — State of France on his Accession to Power. — Intolerance. — His Object was to guide France to Liberty. — Favors no Party. — Centralization of his Authority necessary. — His grand Institutions. — The civil Order. — Napoleon no systematic Despot. — His grand Views of forming one great European Association. — Intended to give France her full Share of Liberty. — Causes of his Fall. — Napoleonic Ideas have taken Root every where. — Remarks.*

THE object aimed at in his *Idées Napoléoniennes*, Louis Napoleon sets forth in the preface.

“If the destiny promised me by my birth had not been changed by events, nephew of the emperor, I would

have been one of the defenders of his throne, one of the propagators of his ideas; I would have had the glory of being one of the pillars of his throne, or of dying in one of the squares of his guards, fighting for France. The emperor is no more; but his spirit is not dead. Deprived of the opportunity of defending his protecting power with the sword, I can at least try to defend his memory with the pen. To enlighten opinions by searching for the thought that presided over his lofty conceptions, to recall to men's minds the memory of his vast projects,—this is a task which still gratifies my heart and consoles me for exile. Fear of shocking contrary opinions shall not stay me; ideas which are under the ægis of the greatest genius of modern times can be avowed without circumlocution; they cannot vary with the thermometer of the political atmosphere.

“CARLTON TERRACE, *July, 1839.*”

In the first chapter he opens the subject thus:—

“Are all the revolutions that have agitated the nations of the earth, are all the efforts of great men, warriors or legislators, to result in nothing? Are we to be moving constantly in a vicious circle, where intelligence succeeds ignorance, and barbarism civilization? Away with the afflicting thought. The sacred fire animating us is to conduct us to a result worthy of the divine power that imparts it. The amelioration of society is progressing incessantly, all obstacles notwithstanding; it knows no limits but those of the earth.

“‘The human race,’ says Pascal, ‘is a man that never dies, and is always growing in perfection.’ What truth and depth in this sublime image! The human race never dies, but still it undergoes all the diseases to which man is subject; and although it is always growing in

perfection, it is not exempt from the human passions, that dangerous, but indispensable moral arsenal, the cause alike of our elevation and our fall."

Farther on he speaks of the instability and the variety of the forms of government.

"Republics," he says, "are as old as the world itself. For ages the elective principle and hereditary right have been struggling for preëminence, and preëminence has by turns rested with those who have had intelligence, knowledge, right, or might on their side. There can be no government, then, established on invariable forms.

"There is no more a government formula for the happiness of nations, than there is a universal panacea for curing all evils. 'Every question of political form,' says Carrel, 'has its data in the state of society, and nowhere else.' These words contain a great truth. In politics, good is only relative, never absolute."

It can be easily seen that he does not attach much importance to the distinctions usually made between the rule of one and the rule of many — between democratic governments and aristocratic governments. He sees in monarchy neither the principle of "right divine," nor all those vices some choose to find in it. He sees in the hereditary system, indeed, the guarantee for the preservation of a nation in its integrity; and to prove this he reminds us that the two monarchies of France and Germany sprung at the same time into being, from the division of the empire of Charlemagne, and the crown became elective in Germany, but remained hereditary in France. Eight centuries afterwards, Germany found herself divided into a crowd of states; her nationality had disappeared; whereas in France the hereditary principle has destroyed all the petty sovereigns, and formed a great and compact nation.

According to our author, the best government is that which fulfils its mission, that is to say, which, adapting itself to the wants of the times, and modelling itself on the existing state of society, employs the means necessary to clear and smooth the road for advancing civilization.

“At present,” he continues, “I see—and I say it with regret—only two governments which are properly fulfilling their providential mission; these are the two giants at either end of the world; one at the extremity of the new, the other at the extremity of the old. Whilst our old European centre is like a volcano burning itself out in its own crater, the two nations, on the east and on the west, advance without interruption towards their perfection; one instigated by the will of an individual, the other by liberty.

“Providence has confided to the United States of America the duty of peopling and civilizing all that immense territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the north pole to the equator. The government, which is only a simple administration, has so far only to put in practice the old adage, *Let things alone*, to favor this irresistible instinct which impels the people of America to the west.

“In Russia, it is to the imperial dynasty is due all that progress which for a century and a half has been drawing that vast empire out of barbarism. The imperial power has to struggle against the old prejudices of all Europe; it must centralize, as closely as possible, in the hands of one all the strength of the state, in order to destroy all the abuses that communal and feudal privileges still perpetuate. It is only from absolute power the East can receive the expected ameliorations.

“But thou, the France of Henry IV., of Louis XIV., of Carnot, of Napoleon — thou, that hast always been the source of progress to Western Europe — thou, that possessest the two columns of empire, the genius of the peaceful arts and the genius of war — hast thou no longer a mission to fulfil? Art thou to exhaust thy forces and thy energy in a perpetual struggle with thy own children? No, such cannot be thy destiny. Soon shall the day come, when, in order to govern thee, it must be understood that thy part is to fling into all treaties thy sword of Brennus in favor of civilization.”

In the succeeding chapter he shows us Napoleon arriving on the world's stage, to be the *testamentary executor* of the revolution. The revolution of 1789 had sent forth some grand ideas, but it had also produced terrible convulsions. Napoleon's mission was to settle a society, still boiling with hatred and rancor, on solid principles, by employing, to consolidate, the same instruments which, till then, had only served to destroy.

Napoleon had no idea of restoring the ancient regime; that would have been folly. He restored religion and the liberty of worship; this was easy; it was the wish of the nation. But France also wished the restoration of an hereditary government, and when questioned on the point, replied in the affirmative by four millions of votes. It is because nations, like individuals, are the slaves of their customs. One day does not turn a monarchy of fourteen hundred years into an elective republic, no more than one day could have made at Rome of a republic of five hundred years an hereditary monarchy. Thus Rome preserved for six hundred years longer, under the emperors, the venerated forms of the republic; and republican France preserved the fundamental traditions of

the monarchy, by enforcing that centralization of power which had been the vital element of the French nationality.

Our author justifies Napoleon for having surmounted his republican laurels with a crown.

"There are," he says, "vulgar minds that, jealous of the superiority of merit, wish to revenge themselves by attributing to it their own paltry passions. Thus, instead of comprehending that a great man must have been directed only by great conceptions, by the most important state reasons, they say, 'Napoleon made himself emperor through personal ambition; he surrounded himself with the illustrious names of the old regime to satisfy his vanity; he lavished the treasury of France and her purest blood to aggrandize his own power, and to set his brothers on thrones; at last he married an Archduchess of Austria, to take a real princess to his bed.' 'Have I then reigned over pygmies in intelligence, they have so little understood me?' exclaimed Napoleon, at St. Helena, in a moment of ill humor.

"Let his spirit be consoled! The people long since have rendered him justice; every day that passes by, revealing, as it does, one of the miseries that he has remedied, one of the evils that he has extirpated, sufficiently explains his noble projects. And his great thoughts are like lighthouses, which in the midst of storms and darkness show us the way to a harbor of security."

In the third chapter, Louis Napoleon details the political system of the emperor for the internal government of France. Arriving at power, he saw at a glance what ideas had passed away irrevocably, what were henceforward to prevail, and what could be applied immediately.



"The duty of every government," he says, "is to combat the false ideas and direct the true ones, by marching boldly at their head ; for if, in place of directing, a government allows itself to be directed, it runs to destruction, and compromises instead of protecting society. It is because the emperor was the representative of the true ideas of his age, that he so easily acquired his boundless ascendancy. As to ideas prejudicial to society, he never attacked them openly ; he approached them sidewise, parleyed with them, treated with them, and at length subjected them by moral influence : he knew that violence is powerless against ideas."

He maintains that the object of the emperor was to guide France to liberty.

"Yes, to liberty !" he exclaims ; "and the more we study the history of Napoleon, the more we are convinced of this truth. For liberty is like a river. If it is to bring abundance, and not desolation, we must dig it a wide and deep channel. If, in its regular and majestic course, it remains within its natural limits, the countries which it waters bless its passage ; but if it comes like a torrent that bursts its banks, it is regarded as the most terrible of evils : then it excites universal hatred, and men are seen, in their infatuation, to recoil from liberty because it destroys, as if they would banish fire because it burns, and water because it drowns."

The prince gives us a picture of the situation of France at the moment of Napoleon's arrival from Egypt. We all know what disorder prevailed every where—nullity in the government, corruption in all branches of the administration, dejection and misery in the armies, civil war and anarchy at home, reverses and disasters

abroad : such was, in a few words, the state of the affairs of the republic.

“ Liberty and equality,” he goes on to say, “ were in all men’s mouths, but each party desired them only for themselves. ‘ We will have equality,’ said some, ‘ but we will not grant the rights of citizens to the relatives of nobles and emigrants ; we will have a hundred and forty-five thousand Frenchmen still in exile.’ ‘ We wish for equality,’ said others, ‘ but we will not grant employment to the conventionalists ; we desire liberty, but we will maintain the law which condemns to death those whose writings tend to recall the old governments ; we will maintain the law of hostages, which destroys the security of two hundred thousand families ; we will maintain the shackles which render nugatory the freedom of public worship,’ &c.

“ Such a contradiction between the principles proclaimed and their application tended to introduce confusion into ideas and things. *And so it must needs have been so long as there was no national power which, by its stability and the consciousness of its strength, was exempt from passions, and able to give protection to all parties, without losing any part of its popular character.* Men have had at all times the same passions : the causes which produce great changes are different, but the effects are often the same. There was in England in the seventeenth century a religious and republican sect, which, suffering persecution at the hands of an intolerant clergy and government, determined to abandon the land of their ancestors, and to cross the sea to enjoy, in an uninhabited world, that sweet and holy liberty which the old world refused them. Victims of intolerance, conscious of the evils it inflicts — ah ! surely in the nations

they go to found, those independent men will be more just than their oppressors. But—inconsistency of the human heart!—the first law of the Puritans, founding a new society in the State of Massachusetts, condemned to death those who erred from their religious doctrines.

“Napoleon, received with transport by entire France, and soon invested with indispensable authority, reëstablished order in the different branches of the social body ; uniting moderation with firmness, he controlled all parties ; with him were extinguished all tendencies towards a reaction. Fortified by the acquiescence of the people, he proceeded rapidly to the abolition of all unjust laws, he healed all the wounds, he rewarded all the merits, adopted all the glories, and made the French unite in one single aim—the prosperity of France.”

Here the author enumerates the first acts of Napoleon. We will not quote them ; they are known to all our readers. Every one is aware how he recalled the emigrants, restored the Catholic religion, surrounded himself with honorable men of all parties, his Council of State containing constitutionalists, as well as royalists, and even Jacobins, and how faithful to his principles of conciliation : if he gave a pension to the mother of Louis Philippe, he did not neglect to provide for the sister of Robespierre. “Under the empire all idea of caste was destroyed. No one thought of boasting of his pedigree ; a man was asked what he had done, and not from whom he was descended.” He defends the emperor for having rendered himself the centre of his whole system of government, on the ground that such a course was unavoidable.

“In a government,” he says, “of which the base is democratic, the head alone must possess the governing

authority ; moral power proceeds solely from him, as to him alone every feeling ascends, whether love or hate. In such a society centralization must be stronger than in any other. Centralization, then, was the only means of constituting France, of establishing there a sound government, of making it a compact whole, capable of resisting Europe, and of sustaining liberty eventually. Besides, the excess of centralization under the empire should not be considered as a settled, final system, but rather as a means to an end. In all institutions, it is the predominant idea and the general tendency that we must be particularly careful to search for and investigate.

“What particularly distinguishes a good administration is, that it represses all abuses with a strong arm, that it ameliorates the condition of the humbler classes, that it calls forth all the industries, that it holds an even balance between the rich and the poor, between those who work and those who employ, between the governed and those intrusted with authority.”

It is well known what order and economy were introduced in the regulation of imposts and the management of the finances, and how much at this epoch the revenue was reduced. The emperor computed that France wanted a budget of one hundred and sixty millions of dollars in a state of war, and one hundred and twenty millions in a state of peace. He created the Court of Accounts to control the general taxability of the country. The Bank of France received considerable assistance also from the emperor, and finally, thanks to his energetic measures, the public credit rose rapidly.

The institutions of Napoleon with regard to the judiciary, the amelioration of the poor or suffering classes, the administration of justice in the Communes, his

encouragement of agriculture, industry, public works, public instruction, and foreign commerce, form so many articles, in which the author of *Idées Napoléoniennes* displays before us the conceptions of Napoleon in all their grandeur.

As for the army, the author regards the conscription, which, unhappily, weighed so heavily upon France on account of the long continuation of the war, as one of the greatest institutions of the age. Not only did it consecrate the principle of equality, but it would prove, according to the observation of General Foy, the palladium of the independence of France ; because, by fusing the nation with the army, and the army with the nation, it furnished inexhaustible resources for defence. But the principle pervading it was to receive far greater developments. The establishment of the National Guard, in 1806, was the commencement of a vast organization, which only the interminable wars had prevented from being carried out. "At the peace," said Napoleon, "I would have induced monarchs to have no army but their own simple body guard ; I would have proceeded to organise a National Guard in such a way that every citizen would know his post, and fly to it in time of danger ; then," he added, "we should truly have had a nation made of stone and mortar, capable of defying both time and man."

Entering on the political organization of the empire, Louis Napoleon commences by reproaching the French for the mania they have for copying the constitutions of foreign nations, as if they had not their own nationality, their own manners and customs, which require special institutions. "Under the republic," he says, "we were Roman ; then the English constitution appeared the

masterpiece of civilization; the titles of 'noble lord' and 'honorable member' seemed more liberal than those of 'senator' and 'tribune.' Still later rose the American school. Shall we never then be ourselves? A constitution ought to be framed only for the nation for which it is intended." The dominant idea presiding over all the internal establishment of the emperor was to found a civil order. "Till the present time," he said himself, "but two powers have existed in the world — the military and the ecclesiastic: I wish to constitute another in France — the civil order."

The writer then goes on to explain the mechanism of the civil order instituted by Napoleon.

"The emperor is the supreme chief of the state, elected by the people, and representing the nation. The imperial power alone is transmitted by hereditary right. No other function can be inherited; all are open to election or to merit. There are two chambers — the senate and the legislature. The members of these bodies, with the exception of a third of the senate nominated by the emperor, were appointed by the people, though not by direct election."

It would take too long to mention every degree in the imperial system enumerated by the prince; but it may be summed up by saying that its base is democratic, since all its powers emanate from the people, while its organization is hierarchical; since there are in society various ranks, to stimulate all capacities.

"The competition is open to forty millions of souls; merit alone is the distinction, the various degrees of the social scale the reward.

"In politics, every man may become a member of the cantonal assembly, an elector, a legislator, a member of the council of state, a senator, a grand dignitary.

"In the army, every man is a soldier, every soldier may become an officer, colonel, general, marshal.

"In the Legion of Honor, every class of merit is admissible on equal terms; civil services, military, industrial, ecclesiastical, scientific, all may obtain the grades of legionaries, officers, commanders, grand officers, grand eagles.

"It was so in public education, so in judicial, so in civil administration.

"The political body, like the teaching body, and like the administrative body, had its feet in the Communes and its head in the Senate.

"The government of the emperor was then, so to speak, a pyramidal colossus, with broad base and lofty head."

"In the choice of his functionaries the emperor consulted only their capacity, troubling himself little about their political bias. When a man seemed to suit his place he invariably maintained him there. Gaudin, appointed minister of the finances under the consulate, did not retire till 1814.

"We all know the happy effects produced by the Code Napoleon; but this code was far from satisfying the extended views of the emperor. He wanted a universal code, to contain all the efficient laws, so that all others not inscribed in it should be deemed null and void. 'What with some old enactments of Chilperic or of Pharamond hunted up at need,' he once said, 'no man can say that he may not be duly and legally hanged.'"

Louis Napoleon replies to the charge of despotism sometimes made against the emperor. "His power, it is true," he says, "had all the authority necessary for

creating ; it was in proportion to the confidence which the people had in him." "Under Napoleon," says General Foy, whom we certainly cannot accuse of partiality, "people knew nothing of the petty tyranny of subalterns, of the intolerance of castes, nor of the intolerable despotism of parties. The law was powerful, often severe, but equal for all."

"Could he be systematically a despot, who, by his codes and his organizations, was constantly tending to supplant the arbitrary by the legitimate?"

The highest eulogium of the emperor is in most of his acts ; his detractors can never destroy his influence. But as, during periods of transition, party spirit disfigures grand historical deeds, we can easily understand why Louis Napoleon thus reminded the masses, whose admiration for Napoleon was so unbounded, that their veneration was not based on the deceitful glare of empty glory, but on an exact appreciation of actions which had for their object the well-being of humanity.

The prince passes in review the campaigns and successes of the emperor. We have not space to give the arguments which he uses to prove that the object of all Napoleon's great enterprises was no gratification of personal or national ambition, but the entire regeneration of Europe. The fatal rivalry of England, continually obliging him to keep his sword unsheathed, prevented him from realizing his project ; but the reforms which he introduced in the conquered nations attest the grandeur of his plans. He aimed at making Europe a vast association of states, united together by interest and mutual confidence, instead of the anomalous crowd of petty, jealous, and rival nations that is now distracting that division of the globe.



“Napoleonic Europe founded,” says Louis Napoleon, “the emperor would have proceeded to the establishment of peace institutions in France. He would have consolidated liberty. Liberty would have strengthened his power, because he had already established what should precede liberty; because his power rested on the entire mass of the nation; because his interests were the interests of the people; in short, because the most complete confidence existed between the governor and the governed.”

He comes to the conclusion that the emperor would have incalculably enlarged the circle of elections, and given the chambers the widest liberty of discussion, and finally that the press would have been freed from all its shackles. “It was not a government,” he says, “resplendent with civil and military laurels that could dread the light of day. The more moral force authority possesses, the less need it has of employing physical; the greater the power with which it is intrusted by public opinion, the more it can dispense with its exercise.”

“Lovers of liberty who have rejoiced at the fall of Napoleon,” cries the nephew of the emperor, “how fatal has been your mistake! How many years are still to pass away, what struggles and sacrifices must still take place, before you again reach the point to which Napoleon had conducted you!

“And you, statesmen of the congress of Vienna, who have made yourselves masters of the world on the ruins of the empire, your part might have been a noble one, but you did not comprehend it. In the name of liberty, and even of license, you hounded on the nations against Napoleon; you outlawed him from Europe as a tyrant and a despot; you declared that you had delivered

the nations and secured their repose. They believed you for a moment : but nothing solid can be built on a lie and a blunder. Napoleon had closed the gulf of revolutions ; by overthrowing him you have reopened it. Take care lest it swallow you up."

The next chapter is very short : it briefly and clearly states the causes of the emperor's fall.

The historian Alison, most English and American writers, and not a few French, have given their views on this point, which are so well known that it is hardly necessary to repeat them here. Napoleon, they say, succumbed in 1814 because his power had taken no root in the hearts of the French. The nation, they add, in 1792, could make head against all Europe, because all souls burned with an ardor of patriotism that could work miracles ; but the emperor having stifled patriotism, and made himself the mainspring of the state, the salutary enthusiasm was wanting on the day of invasion : a free people possesses a germ that redoubles their strength in the hour of danger, but an enslaved people basely submits, or if at times they show a scintillation of courage, indifference soon extinguishes the transient meteor. It has been also pretended that the favors which the emperor had heaped on his generals had enervated them by developing their egotism. The marshals, the dukes, the princes of his own creation, it is said, were the first to betray him : they wanted to preserve their titles and their fortunes, even at the expense of their benefactor. Providence, too, had declared against the oppressor of liberty ; an outraged world had risen in its might ; the hour of retribution had arrived, &c. To us, Louis Napoleon's theory, though rather condensed in the expression, seems far more simple and satisfactory.

"It was not from within," he says, "the shock came that overthrew the empire. The emperor, simply, had not time definitively to establish the system he had conceived: to appreciate its true force, it must have been first carried into practice.

"The emperor fell because he finished his work too soon; because, the events pressing upon him too rapidly, he conquered, so to speak, too quickly. He fell solely because, his projects increasing in proportion to the elements he had at his disposal, he wished, in ten years of empire, to do the work of several centuries.

"It is not, then, through powerlessness that the emperor yielded, but through exhaustion; and notwithstanding fearful reverses and numberless calamities, the French people always strengthened him by their suffrages, sustained him by their efforts, and encouraged him by their attachment.

"It is a consolation for those that feel the blood of the great man flowing in their veins to think on the regrets which accompanied his loss. It is a grand and elevating thought that it took all the efforts of combined Europe to tear Napoleon from this France, which he had rendered so great. It is not the French people, in their wrath, that sapped his throne; there were required, twice, twelve hundred thousand strangers to break the imperial sceptre.

"It is a noble funeral for a sovereign, where a weeping country and glory in mourning for his loss accompany him to his last abode."

In the seventh and last chapter, entitled *Conclusion*, the writer maintains that, despite the fall of the emperor, despite the triumph of the old European system, the ideas of this mighty genius have germinated every

where, and still inspire not only France, but the other nations of Europe, with every one of their grand and salutary reformatations.

"Let us ask," he says, "who are the greater statesmen, those who have governed countries which have gained, notwithstanding their defeat, or those who have governed countries which have lost, notwithstanding their victory.

"The period of the empire was a mortal war against the old European system. The old system triumphed; but, notwithstanding the fall of Napoleon, Napoleonic ideas have germinated in all directions. The conquerors themselves have adopted the ideas of the conquered, and the nations are exhausting themselves in their efforts to restore what Napoleon had established among them. Let us repeat, then, in conclusion, the Napoleonic idea is not an idea of war, but a social, industrial, commercial idea—an idea of humanity. If to some men it appears always surrounded with the roar of conflict, it is simply because it was indeed too long enveloped in the smoke of cannon and the dust of battles. But now the clouds are dispersed, and we see through the glory of arms a civil glory, greater and more enduring.

"Let the ashes of the emperor repose in peace. His memory spreads wider and wider every passing day. Each wave that breaks on the rock of St. Helena brings on the wind of Europe a homage to his memory, a regret to his remains; and the echo of Longwood repeats over his tomb, 'THE FREE NATIONS OF THE EARTH WILL LABOR THROUGHOUT THE EARTH TO RECONSTRUCT THY WORK!'"\*

\* This, of course, was written before the removal of the emperor's remains from St. Helena.

These extracts will give a sufficient general knowledge of the ability and scope of the "Ideas on Napoleonism." No apology is necessary for extending them to such a length. The little that is generally known in the United States about Louis Napoleon's writings, and the natural curiosity we must all feel to know what such a man would say even on a less interesting subject, not to mention the possibility of our gaining some insight into the tendency of his future policy from this open expression of his profoundest and most decided convictions, — these reasons would justify us for making even a fuller analysis of the work if space permitted.

- We can easily see that his great object all through is the reorganization of France on the revival of the *Napoleonian system*, which he pretty successfully shows to be the only one capable of meeting the demands, according with the habits and commanding the respect and sympathy, of the French nation. We can also, now, easily see how profoundly politicians, previously acquainted with his writings, must have deceived themselves, if they were in the least surprised that Louis Napoleon, once in possession of the power to carry out what he believed his mission, should take even extreme measures to secure himself in his position.

However, we are now done for some time with his writings. Again he thinks the time for action is come. He is not discouraged by the recollection of Strasburg. A still more ignominious failure awaits him at Boulogne, and five years' weary captivity in the fortress of Ham. To a detail of these events we shall devote the next chapters.

## CHAPTER IX.

*New Hopes.* — The “*Capitole*” projected, but finally abandoned. — *Monthly Publication*, “*L’Idée Napoléonienne*” determined on. — *Extracts.* — *Letter to the “Times.”* — *Louis Napoleon, at the Head of sixty Men, attempts an Insurrection at Boulogne.* — *History of that Affair.* — *Favorable Aspects of Things at first.* — *Proclamations.*

THE publication of the *Ideas of Napoleonism*, during his stay in England in 1839, again enkindled the zeal of the prince’s partisans, and gave a new impulse to those sentiments of admiration and gratitude entertained by France for the mighty genius to whom she was indebted for so much of her greatness and her glory.

In an able but exceedingly prejudiced sketch of the life of Louis Napoleon, prefixed to a collection of his political and historical works published in London three years ago, the following paragraph occurs. It is amusing to read it at the present day.

“Meanwhile his grateful sentiments towards the country which had twice afforded him an asylum, and was destined to do so again, did not remain unexpressed. He was not ashamed to boast in the presence of Englishmen, ‘I shall be Emperor of France one of these days, and the first thing I shall then do will be to invade England. I like you very well as a people; but I must wipe out Waterloo and St. Helena.’ Vain egotist! happy for him if he do nothing to throw Waterloo and St. Helena into oblivion, by a discomfiture still more exemplary, and a fate still more ignominious!”

The English writer can hardly have had good grounds

for his indignation. Such expressions are altogether inconsistent with the habitual taciturnity of Louis Napoleon. Unless absolutely necessary, few hints concerning the nature of his project are ever given out before its execution. Stern and impenetrable, when the moment comes he does the deed, and all are taken by surprise. Victor Hugo sneeringly acknowledges "his great talent for silence."

About this time his friends started a journal called *La Capitale*, to sustain and propagate the Napoleonic principles of government, and to show the superiority of the institutions of the empire over those which had been inaugurated in 1815 or in the August of 1830. The prince, allured by the apparent grandeur of the proposed object, permitted himself to be drawn into the enterprise, which he found to absorb considerable sums of money. The publication continued for some time; but as it by no means answered the expectations of its founders, and especially those of the emperor's nephew, it was finally abandoned.

His friends then advised him to publish, instead of a daily paper, a weekly or monthly review, of which the first number appeared in July, 1840, with the title of *L'Idée Napoléonienne*. But a new enterprise of a different nature prevented the second number from appearing, and brought this review to an abrupt termination.

Though it delays us a little on our way, we cannot help presenting a few extracts from this *brochure*. He explains what he means by the *Napoleonist idea*. "The Napoleonist idea means to reconstitute French society, overthrown by fifty years of revolution, to conciliate order and liberty, the rights of the people, and the principles of law.

“Between two infuriated parties, one seeing only the past, the other aspiring to the future, it steps in with ancient forms and new principles.

“As it builds on a solid foundation, it rests its system on the principle of eternal justice, and treads under foot the reactionary theories brought about by party excesses.

“It replaces the hereditary system of the old aristocracies by a hierarchal system, which, while it secures equality, rewards merit, and guarantees order.

“It disciplines democracy, and renders her an instrument of strength and stability.

“It makes liberty an element of its strength, because it judiciously prepares for its reign, by laying broad foundations before erecting the edifice.

“It neither follows the inconsistent way of party, nor the passions of the mob; it commands through reason, and leads because it is able to go in advance.

“Soaring above political *coteries*, exempt from all national prejudices, it looks upon the French as brothers easily reconciled, and on the different nations of Europe as the members of a great family.

“It does not advance by *exclusion*, but by *reconciliation*, and unites the nation instead of dividing it. It gives to each one the place due to him, the office he deserves according to his capability and his actions, without taking heed of his opinions or his political antecedents. Having no desire but for the public good, it seeks no artificial means to support an insecure power, but only for means to advance the prosperity of the country.

“It looks only at deeds, and hates useless words. It executes in one year measures which others would discuss for ten years. It sails boldly across the ocean of



civilization, instead of remaining in a muddy pond to waste its time by trying its sails.

"The Napoleonist idea, conscious of its strength, rejects corruption, flattery, and falsehood, the vile auxiliaries of weakness. Though it expects every thing from the people, it does not flatter them; it despises the phrases with which democracy flatters the masses to rally round it petty sympathies, imitating the courtiers who flattered the king in his old age by praising merits which he no longer possessed. Its object is not to create a temporary popularity, by exciting half-forgotten hatreds, and by flattering dangerous passions. It speaks candidly to every one, to king, and to citizen, to rich and to poor. It praises or blames as actions are praiseworthy or blamable.

"The Napoleonist idea has long since found favor with the people, because with them feeling precedes reason, and the heart feels before the mind conceives. When Christianity first appeared, the nations adopted it long before they understood its morality. The influence of a great genius, like the influence of the Divinity, spreads like electricity; it fires the imagination, inspires the hearts, and charms because it touches the soul before persuading it."

In an article on "Exile" he bitterly laments the misery of an existence in a foreign land. "You," he writes, "whom happiness has made selfish, who have never suffered the torments of exile,—you think it light punishment to rob men of their country. Know that exile is a continual martyrdom; that it is death, but not the glorious death of those who fall for their country, nor the sweeter death of those whose life was spent amid the charms of infancy, but a death of consump-

tion, slow and terrible, which undermines you, and leads you noiselessly and unnoticed to a desert tomb.

“In exile, the air you breathe suffocates you, and you live only on the faint breeze which comes from the distant shores of the land of your birth.

“A stranger to your countrymen, who have forgotten you, — a stranger among those with whom you live, — you are like a plant brought from a foreign clime, which fades for want of a handful of earth in which it can take root.

“An exile may find generous souls and enlightened characters in the stranger’s land, who will endeavor to be kind and considerate towards him; but friendship, the harmony of hearts, he meets with nowhere, for it must be based on mutual feelings and interests; even the kindness rendered him will lose its charms, for it will all savor of charity.

“O thou exile, thou true Pariah of modern society, if you would not have your heart broken every moment, you must, as Horace says, infold yourself in your virtues, and, armed in threefold armor, be inaccessible to the emotions which lurk behind each step of life.

“Be wary of every step you take, of every word you utter, and of every sigh which escapes from your breast; for men are paid to falsify your actions, to misrepresent your words, and to give a meaning to your sighs.

“Happy are they whose life is spent among their fellow-citizens, and who, having served their country with glory, die on the spot where they were cradled. But woe to those, who, beaten by the waves of fate, are condemned to a wandering, aimless existence, without charms; and who, after having been every where in the way, die in a foreign land, without a friend to weep over their tomb.”

The motto to this publication was, —

“Not only the ashes, but also the ideas of the emperor, must be brought back.”

As before mentioned, only one number of this work appeared, a new enterprise promising a speedier accomplishment of the object he ever held in view.

Louis Napoleon never forgot what he considered his destiny. Watching his opportunity, and waiting his hour, he prepared himself, as we have seen, by the most serious labors, for the exalted functions which he was convinced he should in course of time be called upon to fulfil. But he was very cautious of acting before what he believed to be the decisive moment. He took no part whatever in the insurrection of Barbes, May, 1839. As might be expected, he did not the less escape the imputation of having excited the disturbance, and in justice to himself he addressed the following letter to the editor of the *Times* to repel the calumny :—

“Sir : I observe in your Paris correspondence that an attempt is made to cast upon me the responsibility of the late insurrection. I rely on your kindness to refute this accusation in the most formal manner. The news of the sanguinary scenes which have just taken place has equally surprised and afflicted me. If I were the soul of a conspiracy, I should also be the leader of it, in the day of danger. I should not deny it after a defeat.”

That this was no idle boast he proved by his audacious attempt at Boulogne, which, as is well known, took place in August, 1840.

At this period circumstances assumed what might be regarded a rather favorable appearance for enterprises of this nature. The most thrilling recollections of the

glories of the empire had been evoked by the genius of one of the greatest of modern French poets, by the brilliant pages of Thiers, and other eminent historians, and even by the very policy of the government of July. A law had recently passed the chambers to bring back to France the ashes of the great man still reposing at St. Helena, and one of the sons of Louis Philippe, the Prince de Joinville, had been appointed to put it into execution.\* The frigate *La Belle Poule* was equipped for this purpose. The remains of the emperor were at last to be deposited, as his dying wish expressed it, "on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of that French people he had loved so well."

This resolution called forth a very general excitation of feeling. The press of Paris and of the departments was full of the most enthusiastic articles on the subject. In the general delirium it looked as if the emperor himself were returning to Paris; and the days were impatiently counted that were still to elapse before the arrival of those precious remains of the exile of Longwood.

In this state of things Louis Napoleon might, without too much presumption, one would think, found some hopes on an enthusiasm, the expression of which, as heartfelt as it was unanimous, appeared to open a particular road to his projects.

He resolved to act.

About one o'clock of the morning of Thursday, Au-

\* "It is asserted, with much probability of truth, that Louis Philippe, in thus taking, before Europe, the initiative of the removal of the emperor's remains, only anticipated by a few days a motion of the great Irish agitator, O'Connell, who, in the House of Commons, was about to ask the English government to restore the ashes of the prisoner of St. Helena."—*Histoire de Napoleon III., par Paul Lacroix*, tome ii. p. 140.

gust 6, 1840, as an officer of the customs, named Audinet, and his two assistants, were watching at their post, they became aware of a steamboat lying at anchor, right opposite them, in the sea, at about the distance of a mile. It was the packet boat the *Castle of Edinburgh*. The situation at first excited little attention, and they thought it an English steamer, waiting for despatches. But about two o'clock, Audinet seeing a boat full of passengers detach itself from the vessel and make for the shore, he hastened towards the spot which they seemed desirous of reaching, and, as soon as they were within hailing distance, asked who they were. "We are," was the reply, "soldiers of the fortieth of the line. We are proceeding from Dunkirk to Cherbourg; but we land here because a wheel of our boat is broken."

The custom house officer saw, in truth, fifteen soldiers, of different grades, in the boat, and conceived no suspicion; but as soon as all had landed, he and his two assistants were immediately surrounded by the strangers, and threatened with death in case of resistance. Then the boat returned to the steamer, and made three successive voyages to land the rest of the party. In the interval, five other custom house men, going their rounds, were also arrested, but neither maltreated nor even disarmed.

During the landing, four men, coming from Boulogne, arrived on the scene, embraced several of the soldiers, and two of them receiving officers' uniform, invested themselves therewith immediately. In the mean time, Bally, lieutenant of the customs, informed of the arrival of the packet boat, but supposing that it was attempting only some trifling infraction of the sanitary laws, was coming from Boulogne to investigate the matter. The

moment, however, he entered Vimereux, a little village in the immediate neighborhood of the landing-place, he saw five or six officers advancing towards him, who demanded his name. On his reply that he was chief officer of the custom house, they told him to turn back, and guide them to Boulogne. Resistance was useless. The detachment consisted of thirty men, dressed as private soldiers, wearing the uniform of the fortieth of the line, and of thirty others, wearing the insignia and uniforms of officers of all grades.

Before departing there was some discussion among the officers as to the road they were to take : the majority at first seemed to prefer the shore ; but the gentlemen that had come from Boulogne recommending the road by the pillar, their advice prevailed. The troop formed and commenced to march. The custom house men had to accompany them as guides, or, rather, that nothing dangerous should be left in the rear. In vain did their chief, Bally, express a desire to be allowed to remain at Vimereux ; he was obliged to march as well as the others.

As soon as the band reached the pillar, they lowered their standards before this monument, erected in honor of the imperial army, in 1809, and continued their march. A general officer, seeing Bally speak with one of his men, came up and told him not to talk ; adding, "Don't you know it is Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte that is at our head ? Boulogne is ours, and in a few days he will be proclaimed emperor by the nation that desires him, and the French ministry that expects him."

"All that you tell me," replied the custom house officer, "renders my position and that of my assistants

much more critical than I had thought it at first ; I now beg of you, since you see Boulogne, and the straight road before you, let me and my men return to our post."

The general refused ; but when they had come within a few hundred steps of the gate, Bally addressed the prince himself, who told him that they might return to Vimereux, but on condition that they go there directly, and tell no one a word of what had taken place. The custom house men departed with their chief ; four armed soldiers followed them, keeping them in observation as far as the pillar. Before separating, a superior officer had approached Bally, and offered him a handful of gold, which offer, however, he indignantly rejected.

In the mean time, the conspirators, at whose head marched two men wearing the uniform of lieutenants general, and another of shorter stature, wearing the emperor's usual dress, presented themselves at the gate of the grand rue, waving the tri-colored standard surmounted by the imperial eagle, and shouting "*Vive l'Empereur !*" Without delay they marched towards the barracks, then occupied by a part of the forty-second regiment of the line.

Prince Louis Napoleon, accompanied by General Count Montholon, Colonel Voisin, Colonel Bouffe Montauban, his faithful friend Commandant Parquin, M. de Persigny, and about fifty others, soon arrived at the quarters of the forty-second. There the soldiers received him with the wildest enthusiasm. Silence could hardly be obtained to read the following proclamation : "Soldiers ! France is made to command, and she obeys. You are the *élite* of the people, and you are treated like a vile herd. You are made to protect the national honor, and it is against your brothers that you turn your arms.

Those who rule you would degrade the noble profession of soldier. You have been indignant, and have asked yourselves, "What has become of the eagles of Areola, of Austerlitz, of Jena?" Here are those eagles! I restore them to you: take them back: with them you shall have glory, honor, fortune, and what is more than all, the gratitude and esteem of your fellow-countrymen.

"Soldiers! between you and me there are indissoluble ties: we have the same objects of hatred and love, the same interests and the same enemies.

"Soldiers! the mighty shadow of Napoleon speaks to you in my voice. Hasten, whilst it crosses the ocean, to send away those traitors and oppressors, and show him at his arrival that you are the worthy children of the Grand Army, and that you have resumed those sacred emblems which for twenty years appalled the enemies of France, amongst whom were those that are ruling you to-day.

"Soldiers! to arms! *Vive la France!*"

This proclamation was signed NAPOLEON, and countersigned by General MONTHOLON, acting as major general, Colonel VOISIN, deputy major general, and Commandant MESONAN, chief of the staff.

New shouts and protestations of devotion greeted the prince on the reading of this document: the soldiers, almost frantic in their attachment to the old cause, took him up on their shoulders and bore him in triumph around the court yard. An officer of the forty-second, Lieutenant Aladenize, who had been already gained over, and who had returned from St. Omer the previous evening to coöperate in the enterprise, exerted himself with great success among the insurgents. Things looked very favorable.



In the mean time an appeal was being made to the inhabitants of Boulogne by means of a proclamation that was scattered in great profusion among them ; for numbers awakened, and attracted by the tumult, were thronging the streets at this early hour. This proclamation was thus conceived : —

“ Inhabitants of the department of Pas-de-Calais and of Boulogne !

“ Followed by a little band of brave men I have landed on French soil, from which an unjust law had banished me. Do not apprehend any temerity ; I come to assure the destinies of France, not to compromise them. I have powerful friends abroad as well as here, who have promised me their support. The signal is given, and soon all France, and Paris especially, shall rise in mass to trample under foot ten years of falsehood and ignominy ; for all the cities and villages are to bring the government to an account for the private interests which it has abandoned, the general interests it has betrayed.

“ See your ports almost deserted, your ships rotting on the shore : look at your industrious artisans without food to nourish their children, because government has not had the courage to protect your commerce ; look at this, and cry out with me, ‘ Traitors, disappear ! the Napoleonic spirit, which thinks only of the happiness of the people, is advancing to confound you ! ’

“ Inhabitants of the Pas-de-Calais, do not dread that the ties that attach you to your neighbors beyond the water shall be broken. The mortal remains of the emperor and the imperial eagle return from exile only with sentiments of love and reconciliation. Two great nations should understand each other, and the glorious

pillar which boldly advances into the sea shall become an atoning monument of all our past hatreds.

“City of Boulogne, which Napoleon loved so much, you are about to be the first ring in a chain that is to unite all civilized nations; your glory shall be imperishable, and France will decree offerings of thanks to those generous men who were the first to salute with their acclamations the standard of Austerlitz.

“Inhabitants of Boulogne, come to me, and have confidence in the providential mission bequeathed to me by the martyr of St. Helena. From the top of the pillar of the great army, the genius of the emperor watches us and favors our efforts, because they have but one object — the happiness of France.”

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## CHAPTER X.

*The Attempt at Boulogne, continued. — It is completely frustrated. — Firmness of Captain Colonel Puygellier. — Attempted Retreat also fails. — Louis Napoleon and all his Followers captured. — The Steamboat. — Excitement in Paris. — The Prince's Proclamation to the French People. — His "Decree." — He and his Accomplices brought for Trial before the Court of Peers.*

WHEN we left Louis Napoleon in the barrack yard, surrounded by the soldiers of the forty-second, enthusiastically shouting their devotion, and ready to follow wherever he led, his affairs bore a very promising aspect; for had he succeeded in inducing the garrison of Boulogne to attend him to St. Omer, and had he met the same success there, such was the Napoleonic excite-

ment throughout France generally at that period, that some think Louis Philippe's reign would have come to a termination still more premature than befell it on the 22d of February. But again the stars were unfavorable. Just as the soldiers were rushing towards the gate they were checked in their career by the sight of their commanding officer, Captain Colonel Puygellier. Every effort had been previously made to seduce this man from the cause of the government, but in vain ; as a last resource it had been resolved to remove him to another command, where in fact it was believed he really was at the moment he thus unexpectedly made his appearance. His presence produced an immediate change in matters. His soldiers, accustomed to discipline, stopped, dismayed and irresolute, before his energetic commands. In the general alarm the civic authorities were assembling the National Guards. Louis Napoleon, seeing there was not a moment to be lost, advanced to the captain, and, as the latter afterwards related the affair, cried out, " Captain, join us and you shall have all you desire."

Colonel Puygellier replied, " Prince Louis — for you may be he, though I don't know you — Napoleon, your predecessor struck down legitimacy ; it is wrong for you to try to restore it. Leave the barracks." He ordered his soldiers to drive out the intruders : much struggling and confusion was the consequence. A pistol in the hands of the prince went off, it is said by accident, and wounded a poor soldier who was at the very moment shouting "*Vive Napoleon III.!*" His companions, compelled to retire before superior numbers, hearing the discharge, made a movement of opposition, when Lieutenant Aladenize, dreading a murderous tumult, cried

out, "Do not resist ; the prince forbids you to use your arms. Respect the officers ; spare the soldiers ; let there be no bloodshed." The National Guards came running up. All was lost. Louis Napoleon and his adherents, convinced of the inutility of further efforts, left the barracks with the intention of making a rapid retreat to the steamer. But on coming within sight of the gate of Grande Rue, by which they had entered, they found it closed, and defended by several bodies of the National Guards. Without losing a moment, however, the prince charged them so fiercely with his little band, that he cut his way through them, opened the gate, and succeeded in reaching the pillar, already so much spoken of, called the *Colonne de Napoleon*, on a height near the shore. Here he planted the standard, and made a halt to collect his scattered followers, and perhaps to consult on what plan to take after the evil success of his attempt.

He had little time to deliberate. The city, now thoroughly roused, had recovered from the state of inaction into which it had been thrown by the strangeness and audacity of the enterprise. The National Guard had taken arms ; the brigade of gendarmerie had been assembled ; the soldiers of the forty second, with the usual instability of a mob, had returned to their allegiance. Orders were immediately given to pursue the conspirators, who were soon overtaken near the Column of Napoleon. Resistance was perfectly futile. They scattered in all directions, the greater part making for the boat. Louis Napoleon maintained his ground for some time, exclaiming, "All is lost ; there is nothing left but death ;" until his friends, disregarding his struggles, seized him and carried him to a boat,

to have him conveyed to the steamer, which they still saw in the offing.

Henry de Puy, a vigorous writer, and, where his religious prejudices do not interfere, generally impartial and trustworthy, in his interesting work published at Buffalo a few years ago, entitled "*Louis Napoleon and the Bonapartes*," thus concludes this scene:—

"They pushed off, and made desperate efforts to reach the steamer, little dreaming that it had already, with all its treasures, fallen into the hands of the government. They were but a few rods from the shore, when the National Guard overtook them, and, though seeing them unarmed and entirely exposed, opened a galling fire upon them. Here a touching incident occurred, which gave a new turn to the melancholy affair, and brought it to a quick and tragic consummation. A brave old soldier, Colonel Mesonan, arrived after the boat had left, and being hotly pursued, threw himself into the surf, and made great exertions to overtake his friends. He had swam a considerable distance, amid a shower of fire, and had nearly reached them, when his strength began to fail, and he was about to sink. Efforts were made to rescue him; but he cried out, 'Push on; save the prince, and leave me to my fate.' Escaping from the grasp of his friends, who were endeavoring to keep him out of danger, the prince, wholly regardless of the risk, laid hold of his faithful old partisan, and endeavored to drag him in. In the attempt the boat was upset, and the whole party were precipitated into the water. This painful event, instead of awakening the humanity of those on shore, who disgraced the uniform they wore, only seemed to renew their zeal. They fired volley after volley on the unfortunate band, whose numbers were

rapidly diminished. Some were shot, others drowned; but the prince succeeded in reaching the shore, where he stood unshrinkingly up, folded his arms, and, facing his enemy, calmly awaited his death blow. Two of his friends, Count d'Hunin, and M. Faure, faithful to the last, were shot dead at his side. Colonel Voisin rushed forward to protect him, and received several balls in different parts of his body. M. Galveni, a Pole, in attempting the same thing, fell grievously wounded. The prince himself was struck by two balls, in the arm and in the leg, but the injuries were not serious. When, at length, the National Guard of Boulogne saw that every man was down, and that the prince, perfectly unarmed, was standing a tranquil target for their murderous aim, they plucked up resolution enough to approach and seize him. The ensuing day he was conveyed to Paris, and all along the road received the warmest marks of sympathy and regret. In every garrison town the soldiers collected in groups about his carriage, and in their varied expressions of grief and anger might be traced the strength of their attachment and the bitterness of their disappointment."

General Voisin, Colonel Bouffé Montaubon, M. de Persigny, Colonel Mesonan, (whose escape from death was miraculous,) General Montholon, Commandant Parquin, and nearly all the others, fifty-two in number, were arrested at the same time, and imprisoned in the fortress. Many of the prisoners, when questioned, declared they were servants of Prince Louis. In fact, the prince had invested in uniform all the domestics attached to his household.

The steamer proved a rich prize to the custom house officers. They found among its contents two carriages,

ten horses, a *tame eagle*, a considerable sum of money, (nearly half a million of francs — \$100,000,) and a thousand muskets of English manufacture. The steamboat itself belonged to a London company, that in place of instructions had said to the captain, "We do not know where you are to go; but wherever you are directed to, proceed there at once. Prepare to receive fifty or sixty passengers." They were themselves probably not aware of its destination. It had not been chartered either by the prince himself or by any of his known agents or friends, but by a very respectable London broker. He hired the vessel, he said, to take a company of gentlemen on an excursion down the Channel, and along the southern coast of England. The news of these events reached Paris next morning. The sensation may be imagined. The government immediately set investigations on foot to discover if, as might be suspected, the ramifications of Louis Napoleon's new attempt had extended to the capital. Mandates of arrest were immediately issued against many persons distinguished for their Bonapartist sympathies, and especially against a lady of high rank, Madame Salvage de Fagerolles, formerly maid of honor to Queen Hortense, and recently arrived from London. But this lady was set at liberty next day.

All the mandates were put into execution except one — that against Colonel Vaudrey, of Strasburg memory, who escaped arrest through a rather odd circumstance. The commissary of police, bearing the warrant, presented himself at the house of M. Perier, brother-in-law of the colonel, in the Rue de Tournon, where the latter was known to reside. He was introduced into a room where he saw Madame Vaudrey conversing with a gen-

tleman, whom he the more readily took for her husband, as he seemed to be quite at home, and his appearance corresponded pretty closely with the description contained in the warrant. Having made known his commission, he asked the gentleman positively if he were the colonel.

"Let us see your mandate, sir," was the evasive reply.

After looking over it a while, the gentleman declared himself ready.

They descended the stairs, got into a carriage, and it was only when they were entering the prefecture that the prisoner declared he was not the colonel, but only M. Perier, Madame Vaudrey's brother. The commissary made sure, however, to hold on to his man. The colonel himself, having heard the commissary arrive, had passed into an adjoining chamber, and contrived to make his escape. It was soon discovered, however, that M. Perier could not be inculpated in this affair.

It was also reported that M. Laity, to whom, as we know, the part which he had taken in the attempt at Strasburg, and his recent condemnation before the Court of Peers, had given a kind of celebrity, had also been arrested at Boulogne. But he had been far more agreeably occupied. Having obtained permission from the government to leave his prison for a short time to receive his income of 20,000 francs, which, as will be remembered, an old general had bequeathed to him, he had gone to Lyons for the purpose, and had been closely enough attended there to remove very soon all suspicion of his having been in any other direction.

But let us return to Boulogne.

Besides the proclamations already given, the conspira-



tors had taken care to spread two others, more definitely announcing the views and projects of the leader of the enterprise; though it must be acknowledged that Louis Napoleon's spirited eloquence with which they were all written excited great admiration at the time.

The first of these two proclamations, addressed to the French people, was as follows: —

“Frenchmen!

“The ashes of the emperor must return only to a regenerated France! The remains of the great man must not be profaned by false and hypocritical homages! Glory and Liberty must be found standing beside the coffin of Napoleon! Traitors to our country must disappear!

“Banished from my country, if I were the only one unhappy I should not complain. But the honor and glory of the country are also in exile. Frenchmen, we shall all return together! To-day, as I did three years ago, I come to devote myself to the popular cause. If an accident made me fail at Strasburg, an Alsatian jury proved that I had not much miscalculated.

“What have those that govern you done to possess any claims on your love? They promised you peace, and they have brought upon you civil commotions and the disastrous war of Africa; they promised a diminution of the taxes, and all the gold you possess would not glut their avidity; they promised you a pure administration, and they reign only by corruption; they promised you liberty, and they protect only privileges and abuses; they promised you stability, and in ten years they have established nothing. In short, they promised to defend conscientiously our honor, our rights, our interests, and they have on all occasions sold our honor,

abandoned our rights, betrayed our interests ! It is time such iniquities should come to an end ; it is time to go and ask them what they have done with the grand, generous, unanimous France of 1830 ! Farmers, they have laid on you during peace heavier taxes than Napoleon ever demanded during war. Manufacturers and merchants, your interests have been sacrificed to foreign exigencies ; they use the gold in corruption which the emperor employed to encourage your efforts and to enrich yourselves. Finally, all you classes, industrious and poor, who are in France the refuge of all noble sentiments, remember that it was amongst you Napoleon chose his lieutenants, his marshals, his ministers, his princes, his friends. Give me your support, and let us show the world that neither you nor I have degenerated.

“ I entertained a hope, as did you, that without revolution we might be able to correct the evil influences of the government ; but to-day no more hope. In ten years they have changed the ministry ten times ; and they may change it ten times over again, and the grievances and the miseries of the country would still continue the same.

“ When one has the honor to be at the head of such a people as the French, there is one infallible means to accomplish great things ; and that is, to will it.

“ In France, at this moment, there is nothing but violence on one side and license on the other ; I will restore order and liberty. By surrounding myself with the most eminent men in the country, without exception or favor, and by leaning for support only on the wishes and interests of the masses, I mean to found an indestructible edifice.

*"I mean to give France real alliances, a solid peace, and not to fling her into the chances of a general war.*

"Frenchmen! I see before me the brilliant future of my country. I feel behind me the shade of the emperor impelling me onward; I shall not halt until I shall have recovered the sword of Austerlitz, restored the eagles to our standards, and reëstablished the people in their rights.

*"Vive la France!"*

NAPOLEON.

"BOULOGNE, 1840."

This document is curious enough to read at the present day, (1855.) Both the evils to be removed and the good to be effected are pointed out in very distinct terms. It is not easy to imagine that the Emperor of France can totally ignore such a pledge of the past. Of such engagements, however, as we have marked with Italics, we must say, to promise is easier than to perform.

The following paper was his sovereign

"DECREE.

"Prince Napoleon, in the name of the French people, decrees as follows:—

"The dynasty of the Bourbons of Orleans has ceased to reign.

"The French people have resumed their rights. The troops are released from their oath of allegiance. The Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies are dissolved.

"A national congress shall be convoked on the arrival of Prince Napoleon at Paris.

"M. Thiers, president of the council, is appointed at Paris president of the provisional government.

"Marshal Clausel is appointed commander-in-chief of the troops assembled at Paris.

"General Pajol preserves the command of the first military division.

"All the commanders who will not immediately conform with his orders shall be removed.

"All the officers, subalterns, and soldiers, who will energetically display their sympathy for the national cause shall be nobly recompensed in the name of their country.

"God protect France !

"NAPOLEON."

The other prisoners were brought up to Paris without delay ; but Louis Napoleon was transferred to the Castle of Ham, to be deprived of all communication with his accomplices. This time, of course, he was to stand his trial under a common charge. Government was willing that justice should take its course with regard to the accused, only in place of trying them before the Court of Assizes of the Pas-de-Calais, conformably to what had been done after the affair of Strasburg, it was decided to surrender them to the jurisdiction of the Court of Peers. Accordingly a royal ordinance, which denominated the event at Boulogne as an *attempt against the safety of the state*, was issued on the 9th of August, to convoke the Court of Peers, and to give them charge of the affair.

They met on the 16th of September to listen to the *report of accusation* drawn up and read by M. Persil.

A few sentences of this instrument may show its tone.

“What may we not believe of those men,” it began, “who by a surprise of Bologne, with a few officers, for the most part retired, with a few nameless men, unknown to France, and with thirty soldiers disguised as domestics, or domestics disguised as soldiers, have conceived the idea of seizing on the country, and establishing, in the name of the people and of liberty, under the ægis of a renown placed at too lofty a height for any other to succeed it, the copy of a government which enabled us, it is true, to collect ample harvests of glory, but which never entitled itself to our gratitude for any ardent love of liberty or equality, or for any profound respect for the rights of citizens? Different times, different wants. What might have been good, what might have been demanded by inexorable necessity, in the first years of the nineteenth century, when interior dissensions and the weight of the mightiest war ever sustained overwhelmed our country, would be considered to-day an intolerable anachronism. Civilization is advancing, and her progress should be enlightened by liberty, by respect for the rights of all, and by institutions that render arbitrariness and despotism impossible.”

The regular trial did not take place till Monday, September 28th.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Trial for the attempted Insurrection at Boulogne.—Louis Napoleon's Discourse.—Examination of the Prisoners.—Testimony of the Witnesses.—Discourse of the Procurator General.*

THE trial took place on September 28, before the Court of Peers, consisting of more than one hundred and fifty members.

To us, who are acquainted with the nature of the revolution that has since taken place, and with the sentiments to which the firm establishment of the present government of France is to be ascribed, the conduct of Louis Philippe's ministry in giving such publicity to this trial must appear to have been influenced by a love of justice so excessive as to be little short of folly. A public trial, which, whatever may be the immediate result, must finally prove more injurious to the accuser than to the accused, should hardly be resorted to by sound policy. Louis Napoleon and his friends could not have chosen a loftier stage, a tribunal more elevated, to announce the important objects of their enterprise. With what looks of interest, soon to change into those of admiration and sympathy, they must have been regarded in their conspicuous position by the vast majority of the people of France! How deeply the professions and doctrines, which the accused should necessarily proclaim for their own defence, must have sunk into the hearts of the masses, and left there an impression not soon to be effaced! Certainly the government was blind not to see the inevitable result of the celebrity with which it surrounded an affair of this

nature. It gave a triumph to its enemy instead of a humiliation.

The traversers were accused of having, on the 6th of August, 1840, made an attempt at Boulogne, with the intention of destroying or changing the government, or of exciting the citizens to take up arms against the royal authority, or of enkindling civil war by inducing the citizens to take arms against each other.

The chancellor, Pasquier, was president; the government was represented by the procurator general, Franck Carré, assisted by the attorney general Boncly, and the substitutes, Nanquier and Glandaz. M. Berryer, the famous orator, appeared for the defence.

The procurator general read the accusation, which related all the facts and designated the parts which each of the accused had taken in the enterprise.

When this paper was read, Prince Louis Napoleon obtained permission to speak, and expressed himself in the following terms:—

“For the first time in my life, I am permitted to lift my voice in France, and to speak freely to Frenchmen.

“Though surrounded by guards, though fully sensible of the nature of the accusations I have just heard, still, filled with the recollections of my earliest childhood, on finding myself within the walls of the Senate, in the presence of you, gentlemen, whom I know, I cannot believe that I should find it necessary to justify myself, or that you are willing to be my judges. A solemn opportunity, however, is offered to me of explaining to my fellow-countrymen my conduct, my intentions, my projects, all that I think, all that I desire.

“Without pride as without weakness, if I recall the rights deposited by the nation in the hands of my family,

it is solely to explain the duties which these rights have imposed upon us all.

“ Fifty years ago the principle of the sovereignty of the people was consecrated in France by the most powerful revolution that ever occurred in the world ; and never has the national will been proclaimed so solemnly, never has it been confirmed by suffrages so numerous and so free, as on the occasion of adopting the constitution of the empire. The nation has never revoked that great act of its sovereignty, and the emperor has said, ‘ All that has been done without its authority is illegal.’ ”

“ Do not allow yourselves, therefore, to believe that, surrendering myself to the impulses of personal ambition, I have attempted to force a restoration of the imperial government on France. I have been taught higher lessons ; I have lived under nobler examples.

“ I am the son of a king who without regret descended from his throne when he no longer thought it possible to reconcile with the interests of France the interests of the people that he had been called upon to govern.

“ The emperor, my uncle, preferred abdicating the empire to accepting by treaty the restricted frontiers which could not but expose France to the insults and menaces in which, to this day, foreign nations permit themselves to indulge. I have not lived a single day forgetful of these lessons. The unmerited and cruel proscription which for twenty-five years has been clogging my existence, from the foot of the throne where I was born, to the prison which I have just left, has been powerless to irritate, much less to subdue, my heart. It has not been able to estrange me for a single day from



the dignity, the glory, or the interests of France. My conduct, my interests, explain themselves.

“In 1830, when the people conquered back their sovereignty, I had expected that the day succeeding the conquest would be as loyal as the conquest itself, and that the destinies of France were fixed forever ; but the country has had the sad experience of ten years to the contrary. I thought, therefore, that the vote of four millions of citizens, which had elevated my family to supreme power, imposed upon me the duty at least of making an appeal to the nation, and of inquiring what was its will. I even thought if, in the midst of the national congress which I intended to call, any pretensions could make themselves heard, I would have the right to waken up the glorious recollections of the empire, to speak of the elder brother of the emperor, or of that virtuous man who before me is his worthy heir, and to place in contrast this France of to-day, enfeebled, passed over in silence at the congress of kings, with the France of those times, so strong at home, so powerful and respected abroad. To the question, ‘ Republic or monarchy ? Empire or kingdom ? ’ the nation would have definitely replied. And it is only on its free decision on such questions that depends the termination of our sorrows and of our dissensions.

“As to my enterprise, I repeat it — I have had no accomplices. Alone I determined on every thing ; no person has known beforehand my projects, my resources, or my hopes. If I am guilty against any one, it is against my friends alone. However, let them not accuse me of having lightly trifled with courage and devotion such as theirs. They will easily comprehend the motives of honor and prudence which did not permit me

to reveal, even to them, how well-founded and strong were my reasons to expect success.

"A last word, gentlemen. I represent before you a principle, a cause, a defeat. The principle is the sovereignty of the people; the cause, that of the empire; the defeat, that of Waterloo. The principle you have recognized; the cause you have served; the defeat you would avenge. No, there is no real difference between you and me, and I am not willing to believe that I am to be sacrificed for the defection of others.

"Representative of a political cause, I cannot accept, as the judge of my intentions and my acts, a political tribunal. Your forms impose on nobody. In the struggle now commencing there can be but one conqueror, one conquered. If you belong to the conqueror I have no justice to expect from you, and I will not accept your generosity."

These words, delivered in a clear voice, with an undaunted air, produced a visible sensation on the assembly. In fact, of the men called upon to judge the nephew of the emperor, the greater number were either old companions in arms of Napoleon, or old members of his household.

We purpose entering pretty fully into the details of this celebrated trial: it is a good lesson on French politics.

The chancellor commenced the examination by questioning the prince, who persisted in affirming that himself alone was acquainted with the secret of the enterprise. Interrogated respecting the pistol scene, "I have already said," he replied, "that there are moments when one cannot give an account of his intentions. When I saw the tumult commencing in the barracks I drew my

pistol ; it went off without my wishing to direct it against any one whomsoever."

To all questions tending to compromise his friends, the prince replied simply, that he considered it his duty to be silent on these points, for he did not wish to change his part of accused into that of accuser. His greatest care seems to have been to exonerate those who had followed him.

"How did you procure the uniforms that so many of your friends wore?" he was asked.

"I had requested these gentlemen," he answered, "pretending I was going to a ball, to bring their uniforms along, and most of them did so without suspicion."

"Do you recognize these proclamations, this decree, this order of the day?"

"I do. I wrote them all myself."

"Besides your own, they bear the signatures of three of the accused; was it with the consent of these persons, or unknown to them, that their names were affixed to these papers?"

"It was done without their knowledge."

"One of these papers just read, entitled the *Decree*, proclaims the fall of the reigning dynasty, the dissolution of the chambers, and the establishment of a provisional government. Personages occupying a high rank in the state are mentioned by name in these writings. How is it you did not understand that it was not your part to seize on such names without permission, and especially to use them for such a purpose?"

"In having recourse to men of the noblest faculties who did not concur in my opinions I gave a proof of my feelings. I wished to take men as my ministers who had the ability to serve the country, regardless of their antecedents."

After a multitude of such questions, to which the prince gave ready replies, General Montholon was next called up for examination.

According to the disclosures made by the seized papers, it was this general who, by virtue of high qualifications, was, as chief of the staff, to hold the direction of the military affairs. The maturity of his age, (he was fifty-five years old,) his experience, and still more his well-known devotion to the emperor, whom he had followed to St. Helena, — every consideration induced the supposition that his example would operate powerfully on the army, and perhaps on the people. He was then to be one of the principal instruments in the enterprise, and whatever Prince Louis Napoleon may have been prevailed upon by his lawyers to assert to the contrary, it is extremely difficult to suppose that the general had not been most fully and unreservedly admitted into his confidence.

Nothing important could be got out of the examination of General Montholon.

General Voisin, likewise, gave very little information. He had entertained much respect and friendship for the prince. He had learned his project only when it was too late to retire ; all through he had acted only in obedience to the commands of Prince Louis Napoleon.

The same system of defence was adopted by Commandant Mesonan, and in fact by all the others, except Lombard and Persigny. These men, far from seeking to extenuate their acts, declared that when they saw the savage resistance of Captain Colonel Puygellier, their first thought had been to kill him ; and they would assuredly have done so but for the positive orders not to shed blood, which they had previously received from the prince.

The witnesses were then called for the prosecution.

They detailed circumstantially, and with little variation, the events as we gave them in the last chapter. In addition, a soldier of the forty-second swore that he saw a chief officer throw money to the citizens to make them shout *Vive l'Empereur*!

One of the most interesting witnesses was the grenadier Joseph Geoffrey : this was the soldier who had been wounded in the mouth with the pistol shot. After his deposition, which offered nothing remarkable, the president asked Louis Napoleon if he had any observation to make.

"I have nothing to say," replied the prince, "but that I deeply regret having wounded a French soldier, even by chance, and that I am very happy the accident has not been attended by more disagreeable consequences."

Major Colonel Puygellier, (he was no longer captain,) having been promoted to the rank of major for his fidelity, repeated what he had declared in his first depositions, with some modifications of the scene that had taken place in the barrack yard. "As I was crying out to my men. 'You are betrayed — *vive le roi*,'" testified the major, "I saw the conspirators again enter the barrack gate in close ranks. I remember that the man at the left of the line was he who had wished to present me to Prince Louis, and at the other end was General Montholon. I advanced some steps, and addressing myself directly to the prince, I told him to retire, or I would employ force, adding, 'So much the worse for you if I do.' Scarcely had I pronounced these words when I heard a shot fired, and almost immediately afterwards saw the conspirators make a retrograde movement. I

followed them closely and prudently to the gate, which, when they had passed through, I ordered to be immediately closed."

Sub-Lieutenant Laferrière related what had taken place on the shore, and pointed out the individuals that had fired so barbarously and uselessly on the unarmed companions of the prince. They were ten of his own men, who had acted in positive disobedience to his commands, and a few of the National Guards, who had carried their zeal to too great an excess. The sanguinary act gave rise to much angry feeling at the time.

Colonel Sansot, commander of the National Guard, trying to excuse his soldiers, said that they did not fire on unarmed men, but on men who were trying to escape. This subtle distinction hardly palliates an act of zeal much to be regretted.

The most damaging testimony was given by General Magnan. He positively and circumstantially accused General Mesonan of having attempted, by means of a large bribe and great promises, to induce him to quit the king's service and join the standard of Prince Louis Napoleon. His testimony was quite clear, and could not be shaken. He expressed himself very warmly on the subject, and used some violent expressions towards the Bonaparte party; but he is now, or was very lately, one of the most faithful and devoted of the generals of Napoleon III. We shall meet him again on an important occasion.

The list of witnesses being exhausted, the procurator general, Franck Carré, summed up, necessarily establishing the guilt of the accused. He then made some reflections to which the events that we have since seen accomplished attach some interest. He attacked the

Napoleon party with all his might, declaring it a vain, senseless, objectless party, utterly disregarded in France.

"In short," said he, "one word is sufficient to explain the illusions, the miscalculations, and the presumption of these few men, who, grouped around Louis Bonaparte, compose the Napoleon party.

"They have persuaded themselves that the splendors of the empire and the glories of the emperor have become, as it were, the patrimony of the Napoleon family. The regard of the nation for these immortal recollections is transformed, in their opinion, into a popular wish, calling this family to the throne. Twenty-five years, however, have passed since the time when a throne raised by the power of a man of genius crumbled beneath the wrecks of his fortune; and these twenty-five years have been marked by the efforts and progress of a great people advancing towards liberty with the calm dignity of strength and the wisdom of experience. Tried by the misfortunes of anarchy, and then by those resulting from a career of conquest and domination, this nation wants guarantees for its rights; it wishes to impose upon all a respect for independence and national dignity."

After making the usual panegyric on the revolution of July, the procurator general continued:—

"And ten years after this great revolution, it is one of the most memorable and significant events of our history, that, undismayed by the pitiable issue of two mad attempts, Louis Bonaparte comes before you, gentlemen, proclaiming some right, we know not what, of annihilating our institutions by his decrees, and convoking a national congress to organize anew the government of the country. It is no longer imperial legitimacy that

he vindicates. It is not a restoration that he desires to establish. It is a dictatorship that he wishes to seize, and that without the shadow of a claim, except his duty to his country, and his desire to conduct her, under his auspices, to better destinies !

“At such presumption well may we exclaim, ‘Who then are you, to put forth such extravagant pretensions? Who then are you, to erect yourself into a representative of the sovereignty of the people in this country, where reigns a prince *whom the nation has chosen*, and to whom she herself has given the sceptre and the sword? Who then are you, to offer yourself to France as a representative of the empire, that epoch of glory and genius, you who bring so much misery on your enterprises, who by your acts so often give the lie to good sense?’

“The emperor — understand it well — could not bequeath the sceptre to any one, for it fell from his powerful hand before his destinies were accomplished. His glory is the inheritance of France, and the real representative of the empire, in her eyes, is not you, nor the obscure friends whose homages surround you, and whose selfish interests instigate your own ambition; but it is the genius of the emperor, still living in our laws; it is the men that, cherishing his traditions, and at the head of our armies, and in our councils, are the honor of our country, and the bulwarks of that royalty that France has founded with her own hands.”

M. Franck Carré's swelling eloquence did not vouchsafe him a deep insight into futurity. Unquestionably, the prisoner whom he sought to overwhelm with his vehement indignation, and to extinguish with his blasting satire, understood the situation and the wants of the



country much better than himself. The throne that was so solid was soon to fall to the dust, and the prince, to whom he denied all popular sympathies, was soon to be called on to save the country, and to give it precisely those very institutions which were criticised with so much bitterness. However, seeing that he had rather exceeded the bounds of legitimate attack, he recognized his excessive zeal somewhat, and made a kind of apology.

"We have been severe towards you, Prince Louis," said he; "our mission and your crime made such to be my duty. But we can never forget, however, that you were born near a throne that was also national, and that you have been educated amid scenes of exile where we cannot interdict hope from consoling misfortune, and where the sorrows of the past are sweetened by the illusions of the future."

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## CHAPTER XII.

*Continuation of the Trial for the Boulogne Attempt. — Berryer's Speech. — Bold Allusions. — General Montholon. — Barrot's Speech. — Parquin. — Persigny. — Dr. Conneau. — The Accused sentenced to various Terms of Imprisonment.*

As was said before, the prince had engaged Berryer, the great orator, for his defence. In reply to the charges made against his client this able advocate opened very happily.

"The procurator general," he began, "has just ex-

claimed, 'This is a melancholy trial, and much to be regretted.' I, too, as I contemplate the grave contest, cannot but feel mournful reflections swelling in my heart. How unhappy must that country be, where, within a few years, so many revolutions, successive, violent, overthrowing one after another the laws we have proclaimed, established, and sworn to defend, have produced in our minds and hearts so profound and afflicting an uncertainty with regard to the precise nature of our duties. Within the life of a single man we have bowed before a republic, an empire, a restoration, a royalty of the 9th of August. This ready acceptance of governments so opposite in their principles, so rapidly dashing each other to pieces,—is it not attended with a vast detriment to the strength of conscience, to the dignity of man, I will even say to the majesty of the law? What a blow is struck at the dignity of Justice, gentlemen, when she finds herself to-day called on to condemn as a crime what a short time ago she was enjoined to protect as a duty!"

Continuing to pursue this idea, the counsel declared to the judges, that, in the personal position of Prince Napoleon, after the great events accomplished in France, (their own work,) in presence of the principles which themselves had proclaimed and made the law of the country,—the acts, the enterprise of the prince, his resolution in short, presented no character of criminality which could by possibility deserve judicial punishment. "Is it a question in fact," he asked, "of inflicting on a subject convicted of rebellion the awards of the penal code? Not at all. The prince has done more than to attack the territory, more than to render himself guilty of violating the French soil. He has

come to contest the sovereignty with the house of Orleans; he has entered France to claim the rights of sovereignty for his own family; he has done so with the same title, and in accordance with the same political principle, as justified our present king, upon whose brow yourselves have placed the royal crown of France.

“The principle which rules you to-day, which you have exalted over all the powers of the state, is the principle of '94, is the principle that prevailed in the year VIII., is the principle in virtue of which an appeal was made to the nation, calling on it to declare its sentiments, both regarding the consulate and the empire. At the adoption of the constitution of the empire, in 1804, four millions of votes declared that France recognized the inheritance in the descendants of Napoleon, or in the descendants of his brother Joseph, or, these failing, in the descendants of his brother Louis: *there is his title!*”

The orator grants that this hereditary claim was abolished by the Senate in 1814, but adds that against this the Chamber of Representatives protested, in 1815, that entire France protested against it, both at the Champ-de-Mai and by voting the additional act to the constitution of the empire, and that for fifteen years the greater part of those then listening to him had equally protested against it, by laboring to restore the principle of the sovereignty of the people, which the return of the house of Bourbon had effaced from the laws of France.

He continues:—

“Is the establishment of the empire then a phantom, gentlemen? Is it an illusion? Yet what it has done has reached throughout the world, and its effects are felt

not only in France, but among all the nations of Europe. No, this establishment of the empire is no dream!

*“The emperor is dead, and with him every thing has ended!* What is the meaning of this? Are we willing to avow that those dynasties, founded, established, sworn to in the name of the national sovereignty, are to last no longer than the life of a single man? Why, you attack the very guarantees of the power which you yourselves wish to defend, if you disregard the right founded by its consecration in the national will—a unanimous consecration, far more imposing than that of 1830, for the entire nation was called upon for its vote.”

One is surprised that such bold expressions should be allowed to pass without murmurs. Nevertheless, the illustrious advocate was listened to in profound silence.

“The empire fell,” he continued, “and then the political dogma on which the empire was founded also fell. But what have you done since? You have restored this dogma, you have reconstituted this popular sovereignty on which the hereditary claims of the imperial family are based. The heir is before you; you are about to judge him; in a country where all the powers of the state are in abeyance to the principle of national sovereignty, do you mean to judge him without questioning the country? As long as a drop of blood is transmitted in this family, so long shall the claim of inheritance, grounded on the political principle of France, be transmitted too. You shall inflict punishments, terrible, unjust; you shall be usurpers instead of judges, and still it will be all useless.”

From this the orator concludes that the question is altogether a political one; that it is a question between two dynasties, and therefore not to be decided by mere judges.

He then reminds them how persistently the government itself had thought it necessary of late to reawaken Bonapartist sentiments.

"The tomb of the hero is about to be opened, his ashes are to be transferred to Paris, where his arms are to be deposited in triumph over his grave. You wish to judge and condemn the attempt of Louis Napoleon, gentlemen: do you not understand what an influence such manifestations must have produced on the young prince?"

"This necessity of reanimating in our hearts, in France, the recollections of the empire, the Napoleon sympathies, has been so great, that, during the reign of a prince who in former times had desired to bear arms against the imperial arms, and to war against him whom he called the Corsican usurper, the ministry has been obliged to say, 'He was the legitimate sovereign of the country.'

"Then the young prince saw realized what still existed only in the presentiments of the rulers. He saw the treaty signed at London; he found himself in the midst of men plotting against France; and you are not willing that this young man, rash, blind, presumptuous, as much as you please, but still with a heart that has blood in it, with a soul that has been transmitted to him, without consulting his resources, should have said to himself, 'This name that they reëcho belongs to me; be it mine to bear it living over these boundaries. There it will awaken confidence of victories; elsewhere, terror of defeats. These arms are mine; can you dispute a soldier's inheritance?'"

"You are to judge him, and in order to determine your resolutions, and that you may the more easily con-

stitute yourselves judges, you are told of mad projects, of silly presumption. What, gentlemen, should success be the base of moral law, the test of right? Whatever may have been the weakness, the illusion, the temerity of the enterprise, it is not the number of arms and soldiers that you should regard; it is the right, it is the principles, in virtue of which it has been undertaken. Of this right, of these principles, you cannot be the judges; and this right, these principles have not been altered, have not been weakened by the ridicule sought to be thrown on the facts and character of the attempt."

Following up this idea he proposes a test.

"And here," said he, "I do not think that the claims in the name of which the project was undertaken can possibly fall before the disdainful expressions of the procurator general. You make remarks on the weakness of the means employed, on the poverty of the enterprise, on the ridiculousness of any hopes of success: well, if success is every thing, — of you, who are the first men in the state, who are the members of a great political body, I will ask one question. Between the judge and the accused there is always an inevitable, eternal Arbitrator; now, in presence of this Arbitrator, in the face of the country that shall hear your sentence, regardless of the feebleness of the means, with nothing but the rights of the case, the law, the constitution before your eyes, with your hands upon your hearts, standing before your God, and in the presence of us who know you, I ask you, can you say, 'If Louis Bonaparte had succeeded, if his pretended right had triumphed, I would still have denied it; I would have refused all share in his power; I would still have disregarded and rejected.' Yes, I accept this eternal Arbitrator; whoever there may be

among you that, before his God and before his country, will say to me, 'If he had succeeded I would have denied his right,' such a one I am willing to accept as a judge."

It may be readily supposed such bold allusions to the well-known pliability of many of his hearers produced a profound emotion in the assembly. Arriving at the question of punishment, the orator showed that they could not inflict death—the public sentiment condemned that; nor a degrading punishment—no opprobrium should be flung on the great name; the court should judge as a political body, and do a political act.

He thus concluded:—

"In tracing back your origin, I ask you, marquises, counts, barons, and you ministers, marshals, to what are you indebted for your greatness? To your acknowledged capacity, undoubtedly; but it is no less certain that it is to the munificence of the empire that you owe your seats, and are judges to-day. In presence of the engagements imposed upon you by the recollections of your life, of the causes you have served, of your oaths, of the favors you have received, I say that a condemnation on your part would be an immorality! Think on it seriously. There is an inevitable and terrible logic in the intelligence and instincts of the people: *whoever, in the government of human things, has violated a single moral law, should expect the day to come when they shall be all broken upon himself.*"

The last sentence sounds somewhat like a prediction fulfilled in our own days.

As soon as M. Berryer sat down, Count Montholon rose to make his own defence. His discourse was short, but not without interest.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I was in England, whither family matters had called me. I often met Prince Napoleon there: he often confided to me his thoughts on the condition of France, his project of convoking a national congress, his hopes of one day restoring to the French the political union which the emperor had so gloriously founded. All his ideas manifested an ardent love of France—a noble pride in the great name he bore; and I found in him a living memorial of the long meditations of St. Helena.

"But he never spoke to me positively of his intended enterprises, of his preparations for an expedition into France. When on board the steamer, imagining we were going to Ostend, I learned our destination from the prince. I certainly might have made some remonstrating remarks; but it was too late. I would not leave the emperor's nephew: I would not abandon him on the coast of France.

"I received the last sigh of Napoleon! I closed his eyes. That explains my conduct. It is without regret that I find myself to-day accused of having taken a resolution of which the good opinion I entertain of human nature persuades me that each of you, gentlemen, would have been also capable."

The most talented advocate on this occasion, after M. Berryer, was Ferdinand Barrot. His discourse was exceedingly eloquent; but we have time only for one extract. It was where he made such a telling point for his client, Commandant Parquin. This man was one of Louis Napoleon's oldest friends, having married Made-moiselle Cochelet, Queen Hortense's reader and companion, with some extracts from whose memoirs we are already acquainted. We remember also that he had taken an important part in the affair of Strasburg.



"In 1813," said Barrot, "the emperor held a review. A young cavalry lieutenant presented himself in front of a regiment of infantry. Three times the emperor passed before him, sweeping him with that glance he knew so well how to give. At last the young lieutenant took courage, and advancing, said, 'Sire, I am twenty-five years old, have been eleven years in the service; have served eleven campaigns; have received twelve wounds: that well deserves a cross. I ask it now; it is my due.' The emperor replied, 'Of course it is; and I must not be in your debt any longer.' And with his own hands he fastened the cross of the Legion of Honor on the breast of the young lieutenant. That lieutenant was Parquin.

"I will mention only one fact in this glorious life. Before Leipsic, in October, 1813, one of our marshals was engaged with a host of enemies; his life was in danger. Captain Parquin charges the enemy at the head of a few soldiers, and rescues a marshal of France. He is now seated among you; and if I name him, it is not that I would trouble the voice of his conscience by recalling a favor rendered. No, gentlemen. If I pronounce his name here, it is to give you to understand that it has fallen to the lot of Parquin to save the life of one of the greatest glories of our time, Lieutenant Marshal the Duke of Reggio. Pardon me, if I shelter under the glory of his name the misfortune of an old soldier."

The speaker's emotions prevented him from continuing his discourse for a moment, and when the Duke of Reggio (General Oudinot) cried out, "*The fact is true,*" a very lively sensation was felt by the audience.

Parquin added a few words of his own to the representations of his advocate.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I had promised an illustrious princess, expiring in exile, never to quit her son in the difficult position fate had assigned him. This explains my second appearance before justice. I have fulfilled this pious duty. And if from the heights of heaven, to which her goodness, her virtue, and her religion must have brought her, Queen Hortense looks down here, and sees with sorrow her son arraigned before you, I shall, I trust, be also perceived sharing the misfortunes of him who has honored me with so many years of his friendship, and to whom I am bound with all the devotedness of which I am capable."

M. Persigny demanded to present some observations. "Gentlemen," said he, "it is seven years since profound studies on the grand consular and imperial era, as contrasted in my mind with the present era, won my utmost admiration for Napoleonic ideas. This admiration explains my devotion to the illustrious race personifying these ideas, and to the noble prince representing them. To contribute my share to the triumph of these ideas, which, as I was convinced, promised glory, liberty, and greatness to my country, I did not hesitate to become the soldier of one man, of one family.

"At a time when there is neither true authority nor true liberty in France, when parties and power are equally powerless, for want of a living personification of the grand interests of the country ——."

*The Chancellor.* — "I cannot permit the use of such expressions."

"I mean," replied the accused, "that authority is not sufficiently strong, and liberty not sufficiently extended. I think that is a doctrine, gentlemen, in which you all partly ——"

*The Chancellor.* — “Take care how you speak ; say nothing to aggravate your position.”

“I assure you,” replies the accused, “that such is not my intention.”

*The Chancellor.* — “You have deceived yourself once already ; you may do so again.”

“At a time,” resumed Persigny, “when every one wants to command, and nobody is willing to obey, I am proud to have practised obedience, and to have pledged my liberty with the object of securing and advancing the interests of my country. I am proud to have adopted the motto of that generous King of Bohemia, who came to die at Cressy for the cause of France, — that modest device, but not without its grandeur too, — ‘*I serve.*’

“But it would require a voice more eloquent and more worthy than mine to make the Napoleonic idea understood here, to outroll its magnificent grandeur. It is not the part of a humble soldier of this idea to make himself its apostle before so illustrious an auditory. But it is his part, as it is that of every citizen, only to weep and groan under the misfortunes that have overthrown its sway. Be it his part, as it is that of every soldier, to shed bitter tears over the vast calamity of Waterloo.”

Here M. Persigny was again interrupted by the chancellor, who told him that this was not a defence, but a violent political philippic. After several similar interruptions, the accused refused to continue, protesting against the violence of the president.

His defence, however, was made by his advocate, Barillon, in a powerful speech, which contained the following remarkable passage : —

"Here," said he, "I pause to give expression to a sentiment in which all my *confrères* equally participate, and which, given at this bar, cannot be accused of flattery.

"The expeditions of Prince Louis Napoleon may be differently interpreted — differently judged. Some may see in them the signs of thoughtless impulse, others the expression of a firm and persevering character. But what is incontestable is his possession of eminent qualities, of which we ourselves can speak as credible witnesses ; we, who met him for the first time within the walls of a prison, in one of those great trials for which the political man is not always prepared. What is incontestable, is the immense irresistible ascendancy which he exercises over all that approach him — is the secret attraction which culls and retains — is that cordiality which does not compromise dignity, and which commands affection as well as respect. To these qualities add the *familiar look* which was one of the great powers of Napoleon, and to this portrait add the name of Napoleon itself, surrounding a living head like an aureola, and you will have the secret of this devotedness, entire, absolute, blind, and I would say, almost superstitious, which chains all the accused to the destinies of the prince, and which was the only banner of the Boulogne expedition."

Speaking of another of the accused, Dr. Couneau, whose name we shall often meet with again, he made a touching allusion to his unwearied attentions to Queen Hortense during her last illness. "This dying princess," he added, "had written in her will this phrase, which shall forever associate her faithful physician with the existence of the young prince : ' I desire that my son keep

him always near him.' This dying wish, gentlemen, has been religiously observed; for on that unhappy bench you perceive Couneau seated beside the son of his benefactress."

This sentence produced a strong movement of applause. In the course of his arguments he brought forward a curious parallel. "In 1815," said he, "when Napoleon attempted his famous landing, when he embarked in the brig *Inconstant*, and confided to the waves the fortunes of the new Cæsar, had he instructed on this point all those that were to figure in the extraordinary event, those whom an unshaken devotedness attached to his person? No; Cambronne says so in his defence, and history after him, — except Bertrand and Drouot, nobody was in the secret of the emperor. It was only after the departure, when his profound conception no longer had any thing to dread from the remonstrances of friendship, that collecting his faithful servants on the deck, Napoleon said, 'Friends, it is not in Italy but in France that I mean to land!' And all replied with one of those sudden acclamations that always hailed the great thoughts of Napoleon. What need to say more? Has not Prince Louis been fed on the recollections of the emperor? and could this memorable example have escaped him when he attempted the landing at Boulogne? Must he not have shut up the secret in his own breast, and awaited, as the emperor, the last moment to reveal it to his friends? Cambronne, gentlemen, was acquitted by the judges of the restoration. Let me implore you, do not make us regret their indulgence."

The defence having closed, the procurator general made a long reply, principally to M. Berryer's discourse, which he called more political than judicial. The

debates were terminated by a few words from Louis Napoleon.

"The procurator general," he said, "has pronounced a very eloquent discourse ; but it was useless. When I asked M. Berryer to explain my intentions, so much misconstrued, and to explain my claims, I only wished thereby to fulfil my duty towards my birth and my family. M. Berryer has admirably fulfilled my desire. But now, since the question regards only my own fate, I do not want to be made an exception of upon any grounds. I wish to share the fate of these brave men who did not abandon me in the hour of danger ; and I beg M. Berryer not to continue the debates any longer."

M. Berryer bowed before this request ; the court required time to deliberate, and three days afterwards pronounced a decree by which Prince Louis Napoleon was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress situated within the continental territory of the kingdom ; General Moutholon, Commandant Parquin, Lombard, and Persigny to twenty years' captivity ; Mesonan to fifteen years ; Couneau to five years, and most of the others to periods of imprisonment varying from ten to two years.

Four were acquitted.

The prince, on hearing his sentence, exclaimed, "At least I shall have the consolation of dying on the soil of France." But afterwards, when the clerk, reading the sentence formally, in his presence, came to the words "perpetual imprisonment," "Sir," said he, "formerly it was said that the word *impossible* was not French : I suspect it is so with the word *perpetual* now."

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Imprisonment in Ham. — Louis Napoleon's own Opinion on his Captivity and its Occasion. — Ham. — Its Situation. — Its History. — The Prince's grateful Letter to his Counsel. — His Apartments in the Fortress of Ham. — The Garrison. — Close and harsh Restriction exercised towards the Prisoner. — His Protest.*

THUS ended the affair of Boulogne. Unwilling to approve of it, still we do not find it easy to give it an unqualified censure. Like the attempt at Strasburg, it had been, as it were, forced on the prince by his nature, by his name. In his position, it is not surprising if he thought persisting in an abortive expedition was preferable to dragging out an existence in the weariness of obscurity. However, Louis Napoleon himself, on several occasions since, has taken care to pass a severe judgment on both these enterprises. To confine ourselves to one : In July, 1849, when president of the French republic, he paid a visit to the fortress of Ham, where he had suffered six years' captivity, and addressed the mayor of that town in the following words : —

"Mr. Mayor, I am profoundly impressed with the affectionate reception which I receive from your fellow-townsmen. But, believe me, if I have come to Ham, it is not through pride ; it is through gratitude. It was the wish of my heart to thank the inhabitants of this town and the neighborhood for all the marks of sympathy which they never ceased to show me in my misfortunes.

"To-day, as by the choice of universal France, I have become the legitimate chief of this great nation, *I cannot glorify myself for a captivity which was the result*

*of an attack on a regular government.* When we see how many evils even the justest revolutions bring in their train, we hardly know what to make of the audacious man that takes on himself the terrible responsibility of a change. I do not complain then of having expiated here, by six years' imprisonment, a rash attempt against the laws of my native land, and it is with pleasure that, here in the very scene of my suffering, I propose to you a toast in honor of the men who were determined, in spite of their convictions, to respect the institutions of their country."

These are the words of a wise, if not of a great man. However, it is not the less certain, that these events carried his name, and, thanks to the little prudence of the government, a knowledge of his claims and attractive qualities also, to the inhabitants of the most distant hamlets. His celebrated trial had made an impression on the French heart that not even a long captivity of six years could efface.

General Montholon, the old friend of the emperor, more attached to him perhaps in the sufferings of his imprisonment than during the prosperities of the empire, and the generous accomplice in the rashness of the nephew, was granted the privilege of sharing in the captivity of the prince by being confined in the same fortress. Doctor Councau, though condemned to only five years' captivity, demanded, and also obtained permission, to be incarcerated in the Castle of Ham, with the prince to whom he had devoted his life. The other prisoners were distributed through different jails.

Ham, so long the compulsory residence of Prince Louis Napoleon, is a little town about ninety miles N. by E. from Paris, in the province of Picardy, in the



department of Somme, and contains a population of about three thousand inhabitants.

It is situated in the midst of a very extensive plain, stretching far in every direction. The whole country around is nearly destitute of trees, and presents the aspect of one of those great battle fields which seem expressly formed on the surface of the globe to serve as theatres for the exhibition of the bloody scenes of human passions.

The name is derived from the German, and probably dates as far back as the Frankish invasion. It signifies a place of halt or rest, and is closely allied if not synonymous with the word "home." We find it to be one of the most usual elements of the old Teutonic names of places, such as Hamburg, Durham, Hampshire, Nottingham, &c. Though it was never a place of much importance, Ham is not without its history. There is a dim legend of a mighty battle having been fought in its neighborhood, in which the Huns were defeated with great slaughter. At the end of the ninth century it was the capital of a territory to which it gave the name Hamois. It was frequently taken and retaken during the endless wars of early French history. Simon, castellan of Ham, in 986, is generally regarded as the founder of the ancient house of Ham, which became extinct in the person of John IV., who died about the year 1374.

This lordship having been successively in the possession of the houses of Coucy, D'Enghien, Luxembourg, Rohan, Vendôme, and Navarre, was united to the crown of France about the time of the accession of Henry IV.

The town was taken and burned in 1411 by the Duke of Burgundy, and in 1415 by the English. Xainbrailles

and Luxembourg fought for its possession in 1423. After the battle of St. Quentin, (1557,) it fell into the power of the Spaniards, but was restored to France by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis. It was again besieged in 1595, during the war of the League.

The fortress still exhibits portions of wall erected more than a thousand years ago, and it may be considered one of the oldest state prisons in Europe. But the present castle dates no farther back than 1470, when Louis de Luxembourg, Count de St. Pol, the constable of France, reconstructed it on the ruins of the ancient fortress. The great tower, one hundred feet in height, the same in diameter, and with walls thirty feet thick, was built at the same time, and is still called the constable's tower. The inscription, "MON MIEUX," (my best,) which St. Pol had engraved over the portal in Gothic letters, can be read to-day, after a lapse of nearly four centuries. According to the historian Mathieu, it is believed that the constable wished by these words to express his certainty of always finding this strong retreat his best friend in threatening circumstances. If so, St. Pol must have greatly deceived himself, for the walls had hardly had time to settle, when, as is well known, he was perfidiously delivered by the Duke of Burgundy into the hands of the king, Louis XI., who, after a short trial, had him beheaded on the Place de Greve — a fit reward for his numerous acts of treachery. The fortress has since served at intervals as a state prison. It was used by Louis Philippe, after the overthrow of Charles X., in 1830, for the incarceration of Polignac, Peyronnet, and other ministers of the fallen monarch.

The Castle of Ham at the present day is very much in the same condition as in the time of the constable.

The fortress is square, and flanked at the angles with four round towers, connected together by very narrow ramparts. The only gate, towards the north-east, is protected by a strong square tower, to which another of similar form corresponds in the direction of the north-west. The ramparts on the south and east are washed by the waters of the canal of St. Quentin, and the Somme, which flows past the town, is also very near. There are two brick buildings of moderate size in the interior of the court, which are used as barracks; and the state prison forms the extremity of one of these buildings. It consists of a poor, small dwelling, badly built, low, damp, and separated only by a space of some feet from the exterior ramparts, which effectually prevent a free circulation of air, and almost obstruct the light. This was the gloomy spot where Prince Louis Napoleon was to spend the remainder of his days.

On the 6th of October, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the sentence of the Chamber of Peers was read to him. At midnight he was compelled to enter a carriage, without being allowed to see any of his friends, and under the escort of a colonel of the municipal guards, he was conducted to Ham, where he arrived next day.

The evening before his sentence was pronounced, he wrote the following affectionate letter to M. Berryer, his eminent counsel, to thank him for his able defence:—

PARIS, Oct. 5, 1840.

“MY DEAR MONSIEUR BERRYER:

“I will not quit my prison in Paris without renewing to you all my thanks for the noble services which you have rendered me during my trial. As soon as I learned that I was about to be brought for trial before the Court of Peers, I had the idea of asking you to undertake my

defence, because I knew that your independence of character placed you above all the petty influence of parties, and that your heart was ever open to the claims of misfortune, as your spirit was able to comprehend every great thought, every noble sentiment. I chose you, therefore, out of esteem: now I quit you with sentiments of gratitude and friendship. I know not what fate may have in reserve for me: I know not if I shall ever be in a position to prove to you my gratitude: I know not even if you would consent to receive any proofs of it: but, whatever may be our respective positions, apart from politics and their painful obligations, we can always entertain feelings of esteem and friendship for one another; and I declare to you, that if my trial had had no other result than to obtain for me your friendship, I should consider myself immensely the gainer by it, and should not complain of my fate.

“Adieu, my dear Monsieur Berryer. Receive the assurance of my sentiments of esteem and gratitude.

“LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.”

In the commencement of his sojourn in Ham, the prisoner occupied the rooms which had been previously appropriated to M. de Polignac, minister of Charles X., and was afterwards removed to those which had been occupied by Count de Peyronnet, the colleague of Polignac. These apartments were really in a state of complete dilapidation, and comfort seemed to be as great a stranger in this melancholy abode as liberty. The ceiling was full of holes, the paper on the walls torn; the floor, formed of brick badly laid, was uneven and broken; the doors and windows would not shut close, and gave free access to the chilly atmosphere. Such was

the habitation of the emperor's nephew. Let us, however, hasten to observe, that in order to remedy this state of things, which very soon began to affect the health of the prisoner, M. de Remusat, minister of the interior, and son of a chamberlain of Napoleon, placed at the disposal of the commandant, to be expended in the necessary repairs, and purchase of articles requisite for the prisoner's convenience or comfort, the sum of six hundred francs, or about a hundred and twenty dollars — a paltry pittance, and really unworthy of a sensible government.

With respect to the interior arrangements, things, as might be expected, were placed on a most moderate footing. Though M. Lardenois, lieutenant general of the gendarmerie, who had had the honor of being embraced by the emperor at Montereau, regulated the expenses of the table; the sum fixed by him was only seven francs, not quite a dollar and a half, per day. The condemned ministers of Charles X. had been treated more generously, having been each allowed ten francs a day.

The garrison of Ham consisted of four hundred men, of whom sixty, at least, were constantly on duty, carefully guarding the exterior as well as the interior of the fortress. In addition to this military guard, there was at Ham, as at all other prisons, a brigade of door-keepers, turnkeys, and keepers, to whom the care of the prince's person was more particularly intrusted.

The commandant of the fort was an old officer named Demarle, a good-natured and polished man; he constantly showed the prince the utmost personal regard, but in strict obedience to orders, took every precaution to prevent the possibility of his escape. The government did not show itself equally prudent. By a singular over-

sight, the garrison was composed precisely of the very same soldiers of the same forty-sixth regiment of the line who had known the prince at Strasburg in 1836, and of the forty-second, which was in garrison in Boulogne in 1840. It was no unusual thing for the soldiers to come to the windows and cry, "*Vive l'Empereur !*" at the time when the prisoner was taking his usual walk on the ramparts. To guard against this inconvenience, blinds were put on the windows of the barracks that looked in that direction.

For nine months he was subjected to very close restriction. If he took a walk on the ramparts, in a space of forty yards long by twenty broad, it was not sufficient that there should be numerous sentinels within and without the fort, at the very foot of the stairs, and at the door of his apartment ; but a keeper was appointed to follow him closely, strictly enjoined never to allow him out of sight. Among his servants was one who, attached to his person since his youth, though not condemned himself, had asked and obtained permission to share his captivity. This faithful creature was Charles Thélin, his *valet de chambre*. He was as closely confined as if he were a sentenced prisoner, and was never permitted to go into the town to execute any of those thousand little commissions which might have served as some additions to his master's comfort. The soldiers had received orders not to honor the prince by the military salute ; but it was not seldom that they presented arms to the nephew of the emperor, even at the risk of four days' confinement in the guard house.

After a number of conversations and official requests, it was admitted that the prisoner's health required horse exercise, and a horse was at length brought for his use.

But as soon as he mounted on horseback, in the narrow and ill-paved castle yard, he became an object of curiosity to the whole posse of jailers and turnkeys, to the soldiers, and many of the inhabitants of Ham, who were permitted to look through the embrasures of the outer walls. The prince soon became weary of being a mere show to these people, and was obliged to renounce his favorite exercise, which was so necessary to his health.

To obtain access to the prince, an order from the minister of the interior was necessary; and these orders were only procured with great difficulty; and even this order was not enough — the order could not be received by the commandant of the fortress till it was countersigned by the commissioner of police in the town of Ham. Measures of precaution were so strictly carried out that men were employed to go round every morning and obliterate those inscriptions with which the soldiers had covered the walls during the night to testify their sympathy. General Montholon, in a letter to a friend, writes as follows: "The thing which vexes me, as a Frenchman, most, is to think that the emperor, at St. Helena, was not so ill treated by the English, as his nephew is in France by the French."

The prince abstained from all complaints for nine months, and then wrote the following protest to the French government. We present it to our readers, as conveying a better idea of his situation than any we could otherwise give them.

"CITADEL OF HAM, *May 22, 1841.*

"During the nine months which I have now been in the hands of the French government, I have submitted patiently to indignities of every description; I do not,

however, wish to be silent any longer, or to authorize oppression by my silence.

“My position ought to be considered under two points of view—the one moral, the other legal. Morally speaking, the government which has recognized the legitimacy of the head of my family, is bound to recognize me as a prince, and to treat me as such.

“Policy has rights which I do not dispute; let government act towards me as towards its enemy, and deprive me of the means of doing harm. So far it would be right; but on the other hand, its behavior will be inconsequent and dastardly, if it treats me, who am the son of a king, the nephew of an emperor, and allied to all the sovereigns of Europe, as an ordinary prisoner.

“In appealing to foreign alliances, I am not ignorant that they have never been of use to the conquered, and that misfortune severs all bonds; but the French government ought to recognize the principle which has made me what I am, for it is by this that it exists itself. The sovereignty of the people made my uncle an emperor, my father a king, and me a French prince by my birth. Have I not, then, a right to the respect and regard of all those in whose eyes the voice of a great people, glory, and misfortune are any thing?

“If, for the first time in my life, I perchance boast of the accident which has presided over my birth, it is because pride suits my position, and that I have purchased the early favors of fortune by twenty-seven years of suffering and sorrow.

“With respect to my *legal* position, the Court of Peers has created in my case an exceptional penalty.

“By condemning me to perpetual imprisonment, it has only legalized the decree of fate which has made



me prisoner of war. It has endeavored to combine humanity with policy, by inflicting upon me the mildest punishment for the longest time possible.

"In its execution, however, the government has fallen very far short of the intention which I am pleased to ascribe to my judges. Accustomed from my youth to a strict rule of life, I do not complain of the inconvenient simplicity of my dwelling; but that of which I do complain, is being made the victim of vexatious measures, by no means necessary to my safe keeping.

"During the first months of my captivity, every kind of communication from without was forbidden, and within I was kept in the most rigorous confinement. Since, however, several persons have been admitted to communicate with me, these internal restrictions can have no longer an object; and yet it is precisely since they have become useless that they are more rigorously enforced.

"All the provisions for the supply of my daily wants are subjected to the most rigid scrutiny.

"The attentions of my single faithful servant, who has been permitted to follow me, are encumbered with obstacles of every description. Such a system of terror has been established in the garrison and among the officials in the castle, that no individual dares raise his eyes towards me; and it requires even extraordinary boldness to be commonly polite.

"How can it be otherwise, when the simplest civility of look is regarded as a crime, and when all those who would wish to soften the rigors of my position, without failing in their duty, are threatened with being denounced to the authorities, and with losing their places. In the midst of this France, which the head of my fam-

ily has made so great, I am treated like an excommunicated person in the thirteenth century. Every one flies at my approach, and all fear my touch as if my breath were infectious.

"This insulting inquisition, which pursues me into my very chamber, which follows my footsteps when I breathe the fresh air in a retired corner of the fort, is not limited to my person alone, but is extended even to my thoughts. My letters to my family, the effusions of my heart, are submitted to the strictest scrutiny; and if a letter should contain any expressions of too lively a sympathy, the letter is sequestered, and its writer is denounced to the government.

"By an infinity of details, too long to enumerate, it appears that pains are taken, at every moment of the day, to make me sensible of my captivity, and to cry incessantly in my ears, '*Vae victis.*'

"It is important to call to mind, that none of the measures which I have pointed out were put in force against the ministers of Charles X., whose dilapidated chambers I now occupy.

"And yet these ministers were not born on the steps of a throne; and, moreover, they were not condemned to simple imprisonment, but their sentence implied a more severe treatment than has been given to me; and, finally, they were not the representatives of a cause which is an object of veneration in France.

"The treatment, therefore, which I endure, is neither just, legal, nor humane.

"If it be supposed that such measures will subdue me, it is a mistake; it is not outrage, but marks of kindness, which subdue the hearts of those who suffer.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

In consequence of this energetic appeal the rigors of his captivity were somewhat relaxed. His valet, Thélin, was permitted to go to town at pleasure, and some other alleviations were allowed, more conformable with the rank of the prisoner, and the dignity of the government.

The earthly destiny of Prince Louis Napoleon now seemed to be decided forever.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

*Prison Life. — Gardening. — Louis Napoleon's Address to the Shade of the Emperor. — Letter to Lady Blessington. — Sympathy generally manifested in his Favor. — Anecdotes. — Letter on the rumored Amnesty. — The Clairvoyant.*

THE prince endeavored to dispel the monotony of his prison life by such a diversity of occupations as his circumstances permitted. He rose early in the morning and worked till breakfast, which was served at ten o'clock; after breakfast, he walked on the parapet, or cultivated his flowers, for which he had made a bed along the ramparts. Gardening, when it can be had, is always a favorite amusement of prisoners. Louis Napoleon, inheriting from his mother, Hortense, a strong passion for flowers, relished it particularly. Almost every reader is acquainted with the charming tale of *Picciola*, where a little flower, discovered by a captive in his dungeon, becomes not only a sweet consolation in his loneliness, but actually proves to be the means of reforming his character, and restoring him to the world,

a wise and happy man. Louis Napoleon read this tale with a peculiar interest, arising from the nature of his situation, and wrote as follows regarding it in a letter to a friend : —

“ I have read the book — *Picciola* — of which you speak, and have been enchanted with the style, so simple, so elegant, which differs so widely from the generality of the works of the day. The fact is, that literature is nothing else than the voice of the society of the day ; and when society is undergoing convulsions, and subject to all sorts of fancies, its voice must speak of them.

“ I am, however, more happy than the prisoner who is the hero of the author of *Picciola*, and they respect my flowers here very carefully. I might, indeed, already gather a bouquet worthy of Lady ——’s garden. Perhaps I boast a little in saying this ; but then it is because I see my onions with paternal eyes.”

After an hour or two bestowed on his garden, he returned to his room to read his correspondence, to write to his friends, or to resume his morning reading and labors till dinner. The kindness of the ministers, Salvandy and Villemain, had taken care to procure him a regular supply of the treasures of the great French public libraries. Books, then, those invaluable fountains of amusement to a mind disposed to study, were not wanting. After dinner a few hours were passed in conversation with his companions in captivity. The evenings were generally devoted to whist, at which, besides General Montholon and Dr. Couneau, the commandant of the fortress himself took part. Yes, when this brave Cerberus had taken his rounds, and made sure that every one was at his post, he put the keys of his

bastile into his pocket, happy in the thought that night, by obliging him to lock up every thing, suspended till the morrow the dangers of his responsibility. Then he could forget for a moment the unpleasant nature of his office, and proud of feeling himself now nothing but the soldier, he used to go, with this title, to take the fourth hand in the prince's game, and endeavor to find in the distractions of an innocent play some relaxation after the day's toil.

We have already alluded to Louis Philippe's desire to comply with the unanimous wish of France to have the body of the emperor brought home from St. Helena, and interred in the *Hotel des Invalides*. His son, the Prince de Joinville, arrived with the illustrious ashes on the 30th of November, and the obsequies were celebrated with great splendor and magnificence, at Paris, on the 15th of the following month. Whilst the Parisians, wild with enthusiasm, were hailing with every conceivable ceremony, expressive of exultation and gratitude, the arrival of the great emperor's remains, Louis Bonaparte, in the silence of his prison, was penning the following rhapsody, and it may be easily conceived with what bitterness of feeling.

*"To the Shade of the Emperor.*

CITADEL OF HAM, Dec. 15, 1840.

"SIRE: You return to your capital, and the people in multitudes hail your return; whilst I, from the depth of my dungeon, can only discern a ray of that sun which shines upon your obsequies.

"Be not angry with your family because they are not there to receive you; your exile and your misfortunes have ceased with your life; ours continue still.

" You have expired upon a rock, far from your country and from your kindred ; the hand of a son has not closed your eyes ; and to-day not one of your kinsmen will follow your bier.

" Montholon, whom you loved the most amongst your faithful companions, has performed the office of a son ; he remains faithful to your ideas, and has fulfilled your last wishes. He has conveyed to me your last words. He is in prison with me.

" A French vessel, under the command of a noble youth, went to claim your ashes ; in vain you would have surveyed the deck in search of your kin ; your family was not there.

" When you touched the soil of France, an electric shock was felt ; you raised yourself in your coffin ; your eyes were for a moment reopened ; the tri-color floated upon the shore, but your eagle was not there.

" The people, as in former times, throng around your passage, and salute you with their acclamations, as if you were still alive ; but the courtiers of the day, whilst rendering you homage, say, with suppressed breath, ' God grant he may not awake ! '

" You have at length seen again those French whom you loved so much ; you have returned to that France which you have made so great ; but foreign arms have left a track which the pomp of your return can never efface.

" See that young army ; they are the sons of your veterans ; they venerate you, for you are their glory ; but they say to them, ' Fold your arms. '

" Sire, the people all over the country are good ; but those men whom you have made so great, and who are yet so small — ah, sire, regret them not.

"They have denied your gospel, your ideas, your glory, and your blood ; when I have spoken to them of your cause, they have said to me, ' We do not understand it.'"

"Let them say so, let them do so ; what signify to the rolling car the grains of sand which it crushes under its wheels ! They say in vain that you were a meteor which has left no trace behind : in vain they deny your civil glory ; they will not disinherit us.

"Sire, the 15th of December is a great day for France and for me. From the midst of your splendid cortege, disdaining the homage of many around, you have for a moment cast your eyes upon my gloomy abode, and calling to mind the caresses you lavished upon me when a child, you have said to me, ' You suffer for me : friend, I am satisfied with you.'"

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE." \*

During the prince's stay in England, before his unfortunate Boulogne expedition, he had experienced much kindness and attention in that country generally, but nowhere more cordiality and real friendship than at Gore House. This was the residence of the Countess of Blessington, a daughter of Edmund Power, of Clonmel, and one of the most brilliant and popular authoresses of the day. But the power and influence of her intellectual qualities consisted chiefly in her conversational talents. Her *salons* were opened every evening to men

\* It has no doubt been already noticed that the prince signed himself indifferently "Louis Napoleon" or "Napoleon Louis." At the elections, however, which took place after the revolution of February, 1848, this disorder in the prefixes having occasioned some confusion, he decided on finally adopting the signature "Louis Napoleon," by which he is best known.

of genius and learning, and persons of celebrity of all climes, to travellers of every European city of distinction. Her abode became a centre of attraction for the *beau monde* of the intellectual classes, a place of reunion for remarkable persons of talent or eminence of some sort or other, and certainly the most agreeable resort of men of literature, art, science, of strangers of distinction, travellers, and public characters of various pursuits — the most agreeable that ever existed in the country. Louis Napoleon had been one of the most constant and intimate guests at Gore House, both before and after his imprisonment at Ham. He used to dine there whenever there were any distinguished persons, whether English or foreign. He was on the most familiar and intimate terms with Lady Blessington and her circle, joining them in parties to Greenwich, Richmond, &c., and all his friends, as well as himself, were made welcome ; on his subsequent escape from Ham he went to Gore House straight on his arrival in London, giving Lady Blessington the first intimation of the fact.\*

Lady Blessington was an old friend. In 1828 she had made the acquaintance of Queen Hortense, then residing in Italy. The prince was then in his twentieth year, and Lady Blessington says she never witnessed a more devoted attachment than subsisted between him and his mother. "He is a fine, high-spirited youth," she observes in one of her letters, "admirably educated and finely accomplished, uniting to the gallant bearing of a soldier all the politeness of a *preux* chevalier ; but how could he be otherwise, brought up by such a mother ? Prince Louis Bonaparte is much beloved and esteemed

\* Madden's "Memoirs of Lady Blessington," just published.



by all who know him, and is said to resemble his uncle, the Prince Eugene Beauharnois, no less in person than in mind, possessing his generous nature, personal courage, and high sense of honor."

It was to this lady he wrote the subjoined letter, in the latter part of which his dauntless heart reveals itself in one remarkable sentence.

"HAM, *January 13, 1841.*

"MY LADY: I have only to-day received your letter of the 1st of January, because, being in English, it had to be sent to the minister at Paris to be read. I am very sensible of your kind recollection of me, and it is with regret that I find that your letters hitherto have not reached me. I have only received from Gore House one letter from Count D'Orsay, which I immediately replied to whilst at the Conciergerie. I very much regret it should have been intercepted, because in it I expressed to him all the gratitude I felt for the interest he took in my misfortunes. I will not give you an account of all I have suffered. Your poetic soul and your noble heart have already divined all the cruel circumstances of a position where self-defence has impassable limits, and self-justification is shackled with a reserve to which one feels one's self compelled. In such a case, the only consolation for all the calumnies and all the hardships of fortune is to be able to hear, at the bottom of one's heart, an absolving voice, and to receive testimonials of sympathy from those rare creatures, who, like you, madam, are distinguished from the ordinary crowd by the loftiness of their sentiments, by their independence of character, and who do not allow their affections and their judgments to depend upon the caprices of fortune or the dispensations of fate.

"I have been for the last three months in the fortress of Ham, together with General Montholon, and Dr. Couneau ; but all communication with the exterior of the prison is forbidden ; nobody, as yet, has been able to obtain leave to come and see me. I will send you, one of these days, a view of the citadel, which I copied from a small lithograph, for you may be well aware that of myself I know nothing of the fortress from the outside.

"My thoughts often go back to the spot in which you dwell ; and I recall with happiness the moments which I have passed in your amiable society, to which the Count D'Orsay still adds a charm with his spirited and open-hearted gayety. Nevertheless, I have no desire to quit the spot in which I now am, for here I am in my proper place. *With the name which I bear, I must be either in the seclusion of a dungeon or in the brightness of power.*

"If you will deign, madam, to write to me occasionally, and to give me some news of a country in which I have been too happy not to love it, you will confer on me a great pleasure.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS."

When the rigorous precautions at first taken to secure the safe keeping of the prisoner were a little relaxed, he was not only allowed to communicate externally by means of correspondence, but his friends were allowed to write to him, and even to visit him. But, as we said before, the latter favor was extremely difficult to obtain, and the commissary of police in the town of Ham was still enjoined to exercise the strictest watchfulness. This officer executed his orders with the utmost fidelity ; but

the cloud of spies that he had scattered around in all directions, to render themselves necessary, and to show their zeal, sometimes fabricated the most groundless, and often the most ridiculous reports. One day, for instance, it was asserted that two thousand mechanics from the plain of St. Denis intended to attempt a rescue of the captive prince. At this intelligence, the little peaceable town of Ham was immediately invaded by a small army; gendarmerie from the country round, cavalry from Amiens, artillery from La Fère, hardly found room in the wondering streets. But it was almost immediately afterwards discovered that it was a false alarm, and next morning the troops were sent back to their ordinary garrisons.

The report, however, was not altogether without foundation. The situation of the emperor's nephew excited strong sympathies among the more numerous classes; but especially among the military. Troops never passed through Ham without showing the noble prisoner sincere marks of interest. Not being permitted to enter the citadel, they would remain, nearly all the day, watching the walls until he came to take his usual walk on the ramparts. As soon as he made his appearance, waving hats and *vivas* of satisfaction showed him the sympathy which his name and misfortunes had inspired. These demonstrations, repeated as often as a new regiment arrived, were very significant.

An incident equally illustrative of the position which the prince held in popular favor occurred about this time. One of the school teachers of the town of Ham happened to conceive the idea that some mark of interest from the illustrious prisoner shut up within the fortress would serve as a great encouragement to his pupils in

the prosecution of their labors, and accordingly made his request. The prince immediately sent him some medals, which, as one of them had been struck to commemorate the late return of the emperor's ashes, and the others on the occasion of some of his greatest victories, it is needless to add, formed a most important feature in the school at the next distribution of prizes.

The example was not lost on the other teachers in the town. Their applications were received with the same favor. New distributions of medals had a surprising effect in stimulating the industry of the pupils, and the simple-minded instructors were congratulating themselves on the powerful auxiliary they had received in their arduous labors, when, one day, they were thunder-struck at the unexpected appearance among them of the inspector from Amiens, who told them that they were guilty of an offence against the safety of the state. The poor men protested that their crime was unintentional, promised never to offend so grievously again, and were very glad to get off with no worse punishment than a severe reprimand.

But affairs of this nature only slightly broke the monotony of his prison life. Not that his captivity could have been very wearisome, for, besides the presence of devoted friends, and the occupations already mentioned, he occasionally received visits from some of the most distinguished men of the day, maintained an extensive correspondence, wrote several important works, which we shall notice fully in our next chapter, and was a regular contributor to some newspapers, particularly to the *Progrès du Pas de Calais*, edited by his friend De George.

It was in this journal the following letter appeared, which speaks for itself: —

“FORTRESS OF HAM, *April 18, 1843.*

“You tell me they talk a good deal in Paris about an amnesty, and you inquire of me what are the impressions produced upon me by that news. I reply frankly to your question.

“If to-morrow the door of my prison were to be opened to me, and I were told, ‘You are free; come and seat yourself as a citizen among the hearths of your native country; France no longer repudiates any of her children;’ ah, then indeed a lively feeling of joy would seize my soul. But if, on the contrary, they came to offer me an exchange of my present condition for that of an exile, I should refuse such a proposition, because it would be in my eyes an aggravation of punishment. I prefer being a captive on the soil of France to being a free man in a foreign land.

“Moreover, I know the value of an amnesty granted by the existing authorities. Seven years ago, after the affair of Strasburg, they came one night and snatched me away from the tribunals of justice, in spite of my protestations, and without giving me time to pack up the most necessary articles of apparel, transported me two thousand leagues from Europe. After detaining me some time at Rio Janeiro, they took me eventually to the United States. Receiving at New York news of the serious indisposition of my mother, I returned to England. On arriving there, what was my astonishment to find all the ports of the continent closed against me, through the exertions of the French government! and what was my indignation on learning that, in order to

prevent me from going to close the eyes of a dying mother, they had spread abroad, during my absence, the calumny (so often repeated and so often denied) that I had promised not to return to Europe.

“Deceiving the police authorities of the German states, I succeeded in making my way into Switzerland, and assisted at a spectacle the most agonizing it is possible for the heart of a son to contemplate. Scarcely was the corpse of my mother deposited in its coffin, when the French government wanted to have me expelled from the hospitable soil in which I had become a citizen and a proprietor; the Swiss people stood by their rights and protected me. Nevertheless, wishing to avoid numberless complications, and perhaps a collision, I voluntarily quitted — not, however, without bitter regret — the scenes where my mother, for twenty years, had preserved her French *penates*, and where I had grown to manhood; where, in short, I had so many friends, that I sometimes almost believed I was in my own country. Such were the results, as far as I was concerned, of the amnesty forced upon me by the government. Do you think I can wish to experience a second amnesty at their hands?

“Banished for twenty-five years, twice betrayed by fate, I have experienced all the vicissitudes and sorrows of this life; and having got the better of the illusions of youth, I find in the native air I breathe, in study, in the seclusion of a prison, a charm which I had not experienced when I participated in the enjoyments of foreign countries, where, being vanquished, I had to drink out of the same cup as the conqueror of Waterloo.

“In a word, I should repeat, supposing that the occasion presented itself to me, that which I declared before

the Court of Peers: 'I will not accept of any generosity, because I know how much it costs.'

"Receive, &c.

"N. L. BONAPARTE."

This letter, though written in the third year of his captivity, does not show the least diminution of his unconquerable spirit. On the contrary, it betrays a calm confidence in the future, moodily biding its time. Is Louis Napoleon really a fatalist? So his uncle the emperor was said to be; yet with all his confidence in his star, he went to consult Mademoiselle Lenormand, the fortune teller of the Faubourg St. Germain. The nephew likewise, at the request of his mother, once consented to act a prominent part in a scene where an attempt was made to lift the dark veil of futurity. De la Guéronnière, in his "*Portraits Politiques*," thus relates the anecdote. Though we attach little real importance to such trifles, yet they are sometimes not without a certain interest.

"It was the year 1834. Queen Hortense was at Rome. A celebrated magnetizer was invited to her residence to exert his influence on a negress somnambulist, who had already displayed very surprising powers of clairvoyancy. She was soon cast into the magnetic sleep. Queen Hortense had but one fixed idea, and her heart was centred in that. She believed her son Napoleon Louis destined to pick up the sword and sceptre that had fallen from the hands of the hero after his glorious defeat. Accordingly she heaped question on question, to penetrate the future. At last the *medium*, as if inspired, suddenly cries out, "Ah, I see him happy and triumphant; a great nation takes him for her chief." "For her emperor, is it not?" exclaims the mother,

breathless, and in rapture. "For emperor," replied the clairvoyant, "never!"

M. De la Guéronnière related this prediction when Louis Napoleon was president of the republic, and confidently declared it to be the *decree of fate*, "because," said he, "it is the decree of the sovereignty and dignity of the nation."

Can we not say it is, at least, as good a prediction as many another put forward with more pretension?

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## CHAPTER XV.

*Writings of Louis Napoleon during his Imprisonment in Ham.*—*"Historical Fragments."*—*Letter of Chateaubriand.*—*"Analysis of the Sugar Question."*

FAITHFUL to our plan of giving our readers every opportunity to form for themselves as correct an opinion as may be regarding the nature and character of the man whose name at the present moment is ringing loudest in the world's ear—whose colossal power, already awful in its proportions, seems to gather new strength from reverses which annihilate that of his less fortunate allies—whose impress on his age (*if he be only left among us long enough*) not only ourselves shall live to see, but countless future generations shall feel and acknowledge,—we say, desirous to assist our readers, as far as our humble means permit, in arriving at a correct opinion regarding the nature of *such* a man, we shall devote a chapter or two to a general examination of the remainder of his most interesting literary works. The monotony of his long imprisonment, leaving us little or



no incident to record, renders the present point at which our sketch has arrived the most favorable for such a purpose. When he enters the world again, important events crowd on each other so rapidly, we see him borne away so violently by the current of circumstances, that we shall have neither the time nor the will to stop and calmly reflect on the scope and tendency of the thoughtful productions of his pen. Besides, being better acquainted with, at least, the general turn of his mind regarding certain interesting questions, we shall be in a position to judge of the extent to which his actions accompany his professions, and to conclude how far a conjecture regarding his *subsequents* may be formed from his *antecedents*.

The first work of importance produced within the prison walls was entitled "Historical Fragments—1688 and 1830," and was published in May, 1841. M. Guizot, the eminent French statesman, in his "History of the English Revolution," having sought to establish a parallel between the British revolution of 1688 and that of the French in 1830, between William III. and Louis Philippe, the prince wrote his "Fragment" by way of reply; not only denying the grounds for Guizot's conclusions, but even attempting to show that if any parallel existed at all, it was on the other side; implying that Louis Philippe resembled James II. rather than William III., and that if the French wanted to consolidate their liberties on as lasting a basis as the English did theirs in 1688, they should rid themselves at once and forever of the Bourbons, as the latter people then did of the weak and unhappy Stuarts. The latter object of his work, however, was very covertly aimed at. The subject, though not without interest, being hardly im-

portant enough at the present time to warrant us in pursuing his arguments all through, we shall only present a few of his most striking passages.

To a superficial eye English history at one period presented the most glaring inconsistencies. They adored the arbitrary rule of Elizabeth, and overthrew the much less arbitrary power of Charles I. They revolted against this prince for the illegal levy of some taxes, yet they soon allowed themselves to be taxed and governed without control and without law by Cromwell. They came of their own free will to abjure their revolution at the feet of Charles II., and afterwards cursed his reign and upset his brother. And yet, according to the prince, there is no inconsistency whatever in all this.

"The English," he says, "wanted the same things all through this period of their history, and did not rest until they had obtained the object of their wishes. From the sixteenth century the English tried to get, —

"Firstly — and above all things — the establishment of their reformed religion, which comprehended all national interests.

"Secondly — the preponderance of their navy, and consequently an increased influence on the continent.

"Thirdly — the full use of their freedom.

"Elizabeth confirmed the triumph of the cause of Protestantism, she added to the national glory, and her memory was revered.

"The republic and the Protector concealed their despotic and selfish views under the name of national dignity. They passed away.

"The Stuarts went counter to the three great wishes of the majority of England. They fell.

"William III. alone confirmed at once the religion,

the glory, and the liberties of his country. He consolidated his work.

"It is not, then, chance which rules the fate of nations ; it is not an unforeseen circumstance which overthrows or supports thrones : there is a general cause which regulates events, and which makes them really dependent on each other.

*"A government may often violate the laws, and even liberty, with impunity ; but unless it truly puts itself at the head of the great interests of civilization, it can only have a transient existence ; and the plain, philosophical reason, which is the cause of its death, is called fatality, when it is wished to avoid the true reason.*

"England required nearly a century of struggles between society and the evil passions of those in power, and *vice versa*, before she could ever erect that immense *English structure which we have hated, which we have tried to overthrow, but which we cannot but admire.*

"The revolution of 1688 has procured for England one hundred and fifty-three years of prosperity, grandeur, and liberty.

"Will the revolution of July bestow the same blessings on France ? The future must settle this question.

"Without wishing to pry into the mysteries of Providence, let us content ourselves with examining the causes and effects of these great political dramas, and seek in the history of the past some consolation for our ills, some hope for our country."

Then he sets forth the causes that led to the English revolution.

"England," he says, "tired of civil wars, disabused of the sacredness of parties and the excellence of the regal power, preserved but one object of hatred, one of

love, as the result of her struggles — hatred of Popery and love of power.”

To explain the anomaly of a Catholic writer taking part with the Protestant side, he gives the following note : —

“ In recording the principal facts of the revolution in England, one naturally feels a reluctance, as a Catholic, to treat those men with contempt who supported that religion in Great Britain ; but, on a close investigation, we see the justice of disliking those who, by their blind zeal and rashness, compromised and rendered the true doctrine of Christ unpopular in England, by making it a handle for a party, and the instrument of their passions. Their conduct should be branded ; for never had the Catholic religion found so genial a soil as that of England, to rule by the purity of its principles and its moral influence. Persecuted by the royal power, it followed the example of the aristocracy, and to avenge its wrongs put itself at the head of the national liberties. This was an admirable position for action, for it was independent of the temporal power, only acknowledging as chief the Chief of the universal church, while the Anglicans then only derived their rights and privileges from the will and power of the head of the government. But the Catholic clergy, dazzled by worldly interests, lost themselves by joining the oppressors of the people instead of joining the oppressed. Every enlightened mind was so well convinced that the Stuarts were about to ruin the cause of religion, that Pope Innocent IX. loudly expressed his displeasure at the imprudent conduct of James II., and the cardinals of Rome said, jestingly, that ‘ James II. ought to be excommunicated, as a man who was about to destroy the remnant of Catholicism that was left in England.’ ”

Having presented us with a picture of the faults of James's government, he contrasts therewith William's prudent measures, and praises him for grounding his claims on the sovereignty of the people, who alone could legitimize his usurpation.

The following, though true enough as a piece of history, is not without another meaning.

"The prince did not abuse his triumph on the first feeling of enthusiasm which the people entertained for their deliverer. William did not come to take a crown by assault ; he came to consolidate the destinies of England ; he had destroyed the principle of hereditary succession, a principle hitherto regarded as inviolable and sacred ; and he could only combat it by another principle, that of the sovereignty of the people. An acquired and acknowledged right can only be done away by giving in its stead another right, legally acquired and acknowledged. Counsellors were not wanting who advised him to take possession of the government by right of conquest, as William the Conqueror had done, forgetting that six hundred years of civilization had added more to the strength of the national right than to that of the sword. Others also urged him to seize the crown, representing the dangers of anarchy, that convenient phantom which always serves as an excuse to tyranny.

"William remained firm ; he would not be a usurper."

Farther on he says of William, —

"His conduct was reserved and dignified ; he had remained unmoved amidst the passions which raged around him, and had not entered into any intrigues either with the electors or members of Parliament. He was frequently blamed for his cold and distant manner to those whose interest he required ; but William's great

mind disdained popularity acquired by meanness. • • This was indeed a sublime proof that he was not dazzled by the splendor of a crown, but that he was desirous of fulfilling his mission, and of rendering his cause triumphant."

William, after his election, meets numberless difficulties from the republicans, the partisans of the old dynasty, and the jealousy of the religious sects.

"What means shall he employ to surmount them? One only, and it will succeed. It is to remain faithful to the cause of the revolution which had summoned him, and to render it triumphant at home by its justice, and formidable abroad by its boldness."

The prince admires his foreign and home policy.

Externally, he maintained a bloody war against the enemies of his country until he obtained an advantageous peace; internally, he displayed great constancy in his attempts to reconcile the parties, and wonderful firmness in the rigorous measures proposed against the Catholics. "When the deputation from the Scotch church," the prince subjoins in a note, "brought William its declaration, they said to him, among other things, that they hoped he would destroy the Catholic heresy. But William interrupted them to declare that he did not understand persecution."

Are not the following passages, though descriptive of a state of things one hundred and sixty-six years ago, rather applicable at the present day?

"Though there was a party opposed to the new state of things, which was called the republican or revolutionary party, they kept quiet, which proved that if they did not make common cause with William, they still thought that he guaranteed the general interests against

the common enemy. \* \* \* There were also some of those fanatics who place the destinies of their country on the point of the dagger, who attempted the king's life; but they were sent back with contempt to the ordinary tribunals, under the idea that giving too much publicity to an attempt at assassination was encouraging others."

Having shown that William's conduct after ascending the throne was any thing but a parallel to that of Louis Philippe, he proceeds to examine the policy of the Stuarts, compares it with that of the government of July, and concludes that the eleven years that had just elapsed in France, from 1830 to the moment of his writing, rather resembled the epochs that commence revolutions than those which end them.

Chapter III. contains a pretty accurate sketch of the embarrassments and faults of Charles I. in the first part, and in the second an able picture of the follies of Charles II., and of the grievances and discontents produced by his disgraceful reign. The author terminates by summing up the causes of the fall of the Stuarts, and of the greatness of William III. Let us cite a few passages.

"The Stuarts never sought by the application of any great principle, if they could assure the prosperity and independence of their country, but by what little expedients, by what hidden intrigues, they could support their always troubled power.

"They desired to reëstablish Catholicity: they annihilated it for centuries in England. They wished to elevate royalty: they only compromised it. They wished to assure order, and they brought confusion on confusion. It is a true saying, then, that

*"The greatest enemy to religion is the man who would impose it; the greatest foe to royalty is he who degrades it; the greatest enemy to the repose of his country is he who renders a revolution necessary."*

"Let us now consider what would have been the consequences, if the prince, after having dethroned James II., and violated the hereditary principle, had accepted the throne from James II.'s last Parliament, and instead of convoking a national assembly — the free expression of the popular will — had held his authority from a bastard assembly, who would not have any right to present him with it."

In this manner he continues, by way of praising the conduct of William III., to fling very unmistakable innuendoes on Louis Philippe and his government.

"William III. satisfied the exigencies of his reign, and reëstablished public order; but had he followed the Stuart policy he would have destroyed it, and the enemies of the English nation, on again witnessing a desire for change, would have accused the people of *inconsistency* and *frivolity*, instead of accusing the government of blindness and perfidy. It would have been asserted that England was an *ungovernable* nation."

"The history of England calls loudly to monarchs, 'MARCH AT THE HEAD OF THE IDEAS OF YOUR AGE, AND THEN THESE IDEAS WILL FOLLOW AND SUPPORT YOU."

"'IF YOU MARCH BEHIND THEM, THEY WILL DRAG YOU ON."

"'AND IF YOU MARCH AGAINST THEM, THEY WILL CERTAINLY PROVE YOUR DOWNFALL.'"

At the time these "Historical Fragments" made their appearance, M. Chateaubriand was still living. The



illustrious author of the "Genius of Christianity," an uncompromising royalist, and, consequently, the bitterest foe of the "Citizen King" and his party, no sooner saw the pamphlet, than he sent the following opinion of its merits to the author:—

"PRINCE: In the midst of your misfortunes, you have studied with as much sagacity as power the causes of a revolution which, in modern Europe, has opened the way to the calamities of monarchy. Your love of liberty, your courage, and your sufferings, would give you every claim in my eyes, only that to be worthy of your esteem, I must remain as faithful to the misfortunes of Henry V. as I am to the glory of Napoleon.

"Allow me, prince, to thank you for the extreme honor you have done me in quoting my name in your fine work. This precious testimony of your recollection penetrates me with the most lively gratitude.

"I am, &c.,

"CHATEAUBRIAND."

His next work appeared in 1842, and proved that his studies were not confined to political questions, but likewise embraced questions of industrial and social economy. It was entitled "*Analysis of the Sugar Question*," and went pretty deeply into the subject. Its appearance was very timely. The government was debating whether they should encourage or restrain the production of native sugar—that made of the beet root—by increasing or diminishing the tariff on the colony sugar—that of the cane. Not only the interests of the home manufacturers were concerned in the question, but what was considered of still graver importance, the

entire future, and the very existence of the French colonies.

It is hardly a hundred years ago since Margraf, a chemist of Berlin, discovered in the beet root a sugar capable of crystallization, identically similar to that of the sugar-cane. It is to two other Prussians that mankind is indebted for the first attempts to make the discovery available to European industry. These attempts, however, made in 1780, had little or no success. The first successful results date from 1810, and it was to the French chemists, and to the encouragement of every description showered upon them by Napoleon, that this partial success was due. The emperor had excluded English commerce from the continent, and wished to render France independent of her great rival, whose ships had hitherto supplied her with sugar, as well as with most other foreign productions. However, it was not until towards 1830 that the extraction of native sugar became an important part of French industry. From this epoch it increased so rapidly that, in 1837, there existed more than five hundred sugar factories in France, producing every year about fifty thousand tons of refined sugar. Raising sugar, in fact, became one of the most productive branches of French industry. Louis Philippe's government, thinking that such a development was unnaturally great, contemplated restricting it, either by a law limiting the number of establishments engaged in the business, or by reducing the high protective tariffs, which were almost as galling to the colonies as to foreign lands. The sugar manufacturers, seriously alarmed, were about preparing a document to submit to the government, urging the necessity of protecting home manufacture, when, hearing that a pam-

phlet on the question had been published by Louis Napoleon, they examined it, and considered it to represent their case so well that they requested of the author three thousand copies, for distribution among the members of the government and other parties interested.

The question is a vast and complex one. The author enters into it extensively. He examines it in all its details, as a chemist, as a practical man, as an economist. He regards it from every point of view. He has an eye on the interest of the metropolis, on that of the colonies, on that of the producers, on that of the consumers, on that of the treasury.

Of course, we are not going to analyze this pamphlet. It is not of a nature to interest the generality of our readers. It will be sufficient then to say in general, that the conclusions of the author tend to the protection and encouragement of native sugar, without detriment, however, to the colonies, to whom he purposes granting particular advantages ; such as opening their ports to foreign nations, in compensation for the maintenance or even augmentation of a tariff, which weighed so heavily on their productions. "Let us not," he says, in conclusion, "build false systems of commercial prosperity on the ruin of a flourishing and national industry. Let us not forget the maxim of Montesquieu — *Injustice and cowardice are bad managers.*

"As to native industry, let it raise its head : its enemies will hesitate before they give it the last blow. The chambers, we hope, will cover it with their protecting votes, and that daughter of the empire will return to life, if, instead of abandoning herself and seeking alms, she proudly vindicates her rights, and replies to her adversaries, '*Respect me, for I enrich the soil ; I fertilize*

*lands which without me would remain uncultivated. I employ hands which without me would remain idle. In a word, I resolve one of the greatest problems of modern society. I organize and moralize labor.'"*

By way of compromise, the number of sugar manufactories was reduced to three hundred and eight, though, in consequence of the recent improvements introduced in the process, the quantity of native sugar to-day produced in France is greater than that produced by the five hundred that existed in 1837.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

*Notice of "Extinction of Pauperism." — Letters of Beranger to the Prince. — Madame Dudevant's Insight into the Character of Louis Napoleon, and the Apprehensions of the Socialist Party in case of his Accession to Power.*

THE prisoner of Ham published his next work in May, 1844. It was a pamphlet of about fifty pages, entitled "*Extinction of Pauperism.*" To extinguish pauperism, to procure for the suffering classes relief, comfort, some share, in short, in the advantages of civilization, — this is a task worthy of the noblest heart, but perhaps too much, even, for the profoundest intellect. Let us see how our author deals with it.

That Louis Napoleon is naturally possessed of a sincere desire to promote the welfare of his fellow-creatures, few possessing even a general knowledge of the man any longer entertain a doubt. "It is natural," he wrote in his captivity, "for the unhappy to think on those who suffer;" and considering the idea generally

prevalent among European philanthropists, that pauperism is a necessary evil, for which there is no remedy except the poor law bastiles, we must acknowledge that it was very creditable in the young prince to devote the best powers of his mind to the problem of mitigating, if not remedying, the evils that afflict so many of his fellow-creatures. Now that he is seated on a mighty throne, with so many other distracting questions to engross his attention, it would not be very surprising if he forgot many of the maxims regarding rights of labor, to which he gave expression in his dungeon. Yet we all know that the employment of the poorer classes is the object of his constant care, and that at this very time, (June, 1855,) leaving the great industrial exhibition altogether out of the question, such gigantic improvements are in progress in Paris that there is hardly an idle hand left in the whole city.

He thus enters on his subject : —

“ The riches of a country depend on the prosperity of agriculture and industry, on the development of commerce at home and abroad, and on the just and equitable division of the public revenues.

“ There is not one of these different elements of prosperity which is not undermined in France by organic vices in our social position. All men of independent minds acknowledge this ; they only differ as to the remedies to be applied.

“ **AGRICULTURE.** — It is proved that the extreme division of properties tends to the ruin of agriculture ; and yet the reëstablishment of the law of birthright, which maintained the large properties, is impossible. We must even congratulate ourselves, in a political point of view, that it is so.

“INDUSTRY. — This source of wealth has now neither rule, nor organization, nor aim. It is an engine which works without a regulator: it little regards what motive force it employs. Crushing equally men and materials under its wheels, it depopulates the country, crowds people into small spaces without room to breathe, weakens the mind as well as the body, and afterwards throws out on the street, when she no longer requires them, the men who have sacrificed their strength, their youth, and their existence in her service. A true Saturn of labor, Industry devours her children, and lives only by their destruction.

“Must we, however, to remedy these defects, place her under a yoke of iron; rob her of this liberty which is her sole existence; in a word, kill her because she is a murderess, without giving her credit for the immense benefits she confers? And yet an efficacious remedy is required for the evils of industry; the general good of the country, the voice of humanity, the interest even of the government, demand it imperatively.”

Such remarks as these show clearly that if the present emperor fail in governing France, it will not be for want of a knowledge of her necessities, or of a sympathy for her grievances.

Let us continue: —

“INTERIOR COMMERCE. — Interior commerce suffers, because industry, producing too much in comparison to the small retribution she gives to labor, and agriculture not producing enough, the nation is composed of producers that cannot sell, and famished consumers who cannot buy; and the want of equilibrium of the situation obliges the government, here as in England, to seek in China some *thousands* of consumers in presence of

*millions* of French or English, who are destitute of every thing, and who, if they could purchase food and suitable clothing, would create a far greater commercial movement than the most advantageous treaties.

“EXTERIOR COMMERCE. The causes which paralyze our export trade from France are too closely allied with politics for us to speak of them here ; suffice it to say, that the quantity of merchandise a country exports is always in direct proportion to the number of bullets she can send among her enemies when her honor and dignity demand it. The events which have lately passed in China are a proof of this assertion.

“Let us now speak of taxation.

“There are few countries in Europe so highly taxed as France ; she would be, perhaps, the richest country in the world if the public fortune was directed in a more equitable manner.

“Raising taxes may be compared to the influence of the sun, which draws up the vapors from the earth, to scatter them afterwards in showers over every place which requires rain to render it fertile and productive. When this restitution takes place regularly, fertility ensues ; but when heaven in its wrath pours it out partially, in storms, waterspouts, and in tempests, the germs of production are destroyed, and barrenness ensues, because some received far too much, and others not enough. Yet, whatever may have been the genial or ungenial state of the atmosphere, generally at the end of each year the same quantity of water has been taken up and given back. The division, then, makes the difference ; when it is equitable and regular, it creates abundance ; when lavish and partial, it is followed by scarcity.

"The effects are the same of a good or bad government. If the sums raised every year on the generality of the inhabitants are employed for unproductive purposes, as in creating useless appointments, erecting useless monuments, or keeping up during profound peace a more expensive army than that which conquered at Austerlitz, taxation, in this case, becomes an insupportable burden; it exhausts the country, it absorbs without returning. But if, on the contrary, these resources are employed to create new elements of produce, to reëstablish the equilibrium of wealth, to destroy misery by promoting and organizing labor, in fine, to cure the evils that civilization brings with her, then certainly taxation becomes, as was once said by a minister at the tribune, *the best investment* for the public.

"It is in the budget that we must seek the first support for every system which has for its object the relief of the working classes."

Savings banks, he says, are useful in one respect, but evidently of no value whatever to men without the means of existence.

What then is to be done?

Here is his reply.

"Our law of the equal division of property is the ruin of agriculture. We must remedy this defect by an association which, whilst employing all the unoccupied hands, *creates large properties, and puts them under culture, without injury to our political principles.*

"Industry (manufacturing industry) calls men into cities and enervates them. We must recall the overplus of the cities into the country, and renovate their minds and bodies by the fresh air.

"*The working classes possess nothing; we must*



*make them landholders.* Their only fortunes are the sinews of their arms ; we must give these arms an employment which will be useful to all. They are as a tribe of Helots in the midst of a tribe of Sybarites. We must give them a place in society, and attach their interests to the soil. They are now without an organization, and without ties, without rights, and without a future ; we must give them rights and a future, and raise them in their own good opinion by promoting association, education, and good order."

This is the plan. Now for its realization.

"Three things are necessary : First, a law ; secondly, an investment of funds taken from the budget ; thirdly, an organization."

According to our author there are about twenty millions of acres of uncultivated land in France, which yield a very trifling revenue — are, in fact, a dead capital, and of no profit to any one. He proposes that the Chambers decree that all these lands belong by right to the Workmen's Association, which should cultivate them, and form agricultural colonies. The state should advance the necessary funds, three hundred millions of francs, (about sixty million dollars,) paid by instalments in four years ; it could do so without difficulty, and find it a *magnificent investment*.

For the organization and discipline of the masses, he would create between the workmen and their employers an intermediary class, enjoying privileges legally acknowledged, and elected by all the workmen. This intermediary class would form the body of representatives or middle men, (*prud'hommes*.) Every year the workmen should assemble in the communes to elect their middle men, in the proportion of one middle man of known probity to ten of the workmen.

Each head of a manufactory, or farm, &c., should be obliged by law to employ a middle man, if he have ten workmen, to guide them, and to give him a salary double the amount of what he pays a workman.

"These middle men should fill the same part in the working class that the non-commissioned officers do in the army. They should form the first step of the social hierarchy.

"Supposing that there are twenty-five millions of men who live from day to day by their labor, we shall have two millions and a half of middle men, to whom they can speak unreservedly, as they at once participate in the interests of those who obey, and in the ideas of those who command.

"These middle men should be divided into two classes ; one should remain in private industry ; the other should be employed in the agricultural establishments ; and, we repeat it, this different mission should be the result of the right of direct election given to the workmen."

The author then enters into the details of the organization of the agricultural colonies which he proposes. They were to spread all over France, and should be directed by a discipline almost military ; only all the authorities should proceed from election. To excite the emulation of the laborers, a sum should be reserved out of the profits of each establishment for the purpose of creating a separate sum for each workman, who might thus amass in the course of years what would suffice to insure his comfort for the remainder of his life, even out of the colony.

The author then brings forward calculations of the receipts and expenditures of such colonies, and reckon-

ing the former at the lowest, and the latter at the highest probable sums, concludes that with an immediate expenditure of about sixty million dollars, the colonies, at the end of twenty-three years, would clear a net profit of at least a hundred and sixty million dollars; 200,000 families and 150,000 workmen of the poor class would have been fed, clothed, and lodged; France would be enriched by twelve millions of new cattle, and the government would receive a revenue of seven million dollars from the ground rent alone of the improved property. And these results he declares far below the reality, and demands a patient hearing before they are pronounced impossible.

"To conclude," he says, "the system that we propose is the result of all the reflections, of all the aspirations sent forth by the most competent authorities for half a century.

"Every man, really endowed with a love for his fellow-creatures, is desirous that justice should at length be done to the working classes, which still seem deprived of all the advantages that civilization procures. *Our project gives them every thing that improves the condition of man,—independence, education, and government,—and to each the possibility of raising himself by merit.*

"Our organization tends to nothing less than converting the poorest class of the present day into one of the richest associations in France."

He thus concludes :—

"Two centuries ago, La Fontaine uttered a sentence too often true, yet most melancholy, and destructive of all society, of all rule, and of all hierarchy. 'I tell you in plain terms, our master is our enemy!' At this period, the object of all enlightened governments should

tend by its efforts to hasten the period when men may exclaim, *The triumph of Christianity has destroyed slavery—the triumph of the French Revolution has put an end to bondage—the triumph of democratic ideas has caused the extinction of pauperism!*”

We think this work merits the extent of our quotations. We think it full of promise. Of course the ideas of the author must have been somewhat modified since its publication. Experience, by elucidating the different parts of a system so plausible in theory, must have shown its defects in practice. The plans of the Emperor of France cannot be precisely the same in 1855 as those of the prisoner of Ham in 1844; still it is not unreasonable to expect, from his omnipotence of the present day, some permanent institution that would go far to secure the rights of labor, and alleviate the sufferings of the poorer classes.

Besides these great questions, which Louis Napoleon entered into elaborately, and investigated in pamphlets or volumes, he frequently wrote articles for the papers, in which he discussed the questions of the day as a statesman, an economist, or a friend of social progress. Of these it must suffice to say that the greater number appeared in the “*Progres du Pas de Calais*,” that all bore marks of profound study, and that, though they were often disfigured by ill-concealed illiberality towards the government, no candid man can read them to-day without being obliged to acknowledge that France has fallen into the hands of a master who possesses the ability to understand, at least, the sources of her complaints and the tendency of her aspirations.

In the mean time the following letters are presented, to give our readers an idea of the regard for the prince

and his writings, generally entertained by the *socialist* party. The first two were written by Beranger, the great national French poet.

October 14, 1842.

“PRINCE: The person who has presented me with the pamphlet which you have done me the honor to send to my address assures me that you will not find it disagreeable to receive directly the thanks which I owe you. I hasten then, prince, to express the satisfaction I have enjoyed in reading your works; they have, particularly, filled me with admiration for your courage in devoting the long hours of your captivity to such useful labors.

“The pamphlet on the sugar question has given me the greatest surprise. I can perfectly conceive your historical studies, and the just reflections they suggest; but I cannot conceive, prince, how you have fathomed a subject purely industrial and financial. You have, to my idea, completely elucidated this question of opposing interests on every point, except, perhaps, if you will permit me to say so, on that of the consumer, who has always been a little neglected by the great ones of this world.

“May you one day, prince, be in a position to consecrate to our common country the fruits of the knowledge which you have already acquired, and which you shall still acquire. And until you, and all the members of your illustrious family, are restored, as is only just, to the rights of a French citizen, believe in the ardent wishes I entertain to see a termination of your captivity, assured as I am that you would devote yourself henceforth to literary and scientific labors, which must add a new ray to the splendid aureola of the name you bear.

“BERANGER.”

The next was written after reading the "*Extinction of Pauperism.*"

"PRINCE: I have the honor to thank you for sending me your work. It deserves the admiration of all the friends of humanity. The idea to which you give utterance in this too short pamphlet is one of those best calculated to ameliorate the condition of the industrial and laboring classes. It is not my part, prince, to judge of the accuracy of the calculations by which you maintain it; but I can fully appreciate their value; I have too often indulged in dreams, which had the same objects in view as your generous intentions, not to do so. By a good fortune, of which I am very proud, my fireside Utopias singularly approach those projects which you develop so clearly, and support by such unanswerable arguments.

"It is less through vanity, prince, that I here allude to my speculations, than to show you the satisfaction that your work was calculated to afford me.

"It is noble in you, in the midst of the tediums and sufferings of captivity, to interest yourself thus, prince, with that portion of your fellow-countrymen whose evils are so numerous and menacing. It is the best means, and the worthiest of the name you bear, to prove the injustice of those statesmen who hesitate so long in restoring you to your liberty and your native land. With the best wishes that you may soon recover both, &c:

"BERANGER."

June 30, 1844.

To those of our readers who are acquainted with the writings of George Sand, the following extract of a

letter from the hands of that singular but most highly-gifted woman can hardly fail to be interesting. It is unnecessary to say that she fully represents the ideas of the *ultra* and sincerely republican party.

“ Meanwhile you need not affect the idea which you attribute to me, gratuitously enough, of my regarding myself a political person. O, no! I never entertained such a ridiculous thought. My dear prince, at the time in which we live, I have simplicity enough to protest against all politics, not being able to embrace the opinions of any party. I have but a poor head, full of Utopian ideas. \* \* \* I have read your writings; you, most certainly, are possessed of convictions, enthusiasm, and a feeling of greatness, and ability into the bargain; but let me say, heroic child, you are such as my father would have gloried to be—*you are a Bonapartist*. And we also, even *we*, would have maintained such a title with pride against the anathema of the stupid restoration, had we been ten years older, or fifty years younger. But should *we*, who were never intoxicated by the direct magnetism of your *giant uncle*, see in the past any thing but the revolution commenced in 1789, and brought to a close in 1804? You may say what you like, the transformation of the revolution in his person may have been necessary, providential,—it certainly was as magnificent and brilliant as the sun,—but *equality* proclaimed by the Convention—what became of it under his sword? Do not think that we wish to repudiate what there was sublime in him. No! but the fatality he carried with him is what we do not care to begin again with; we do not think it any longer necessary, and we feel it would be fatal. We have, indeed, many things besides to guard and defend against

Europe, as well as the right of not selecting our own general and our own emperor. We have to conquer the right of not selecting any more monarchs, and of not enduring any more the dictatorship of generals. In fine, since I have given way to the impulse of writing to you to thank you for having thought of me, my soul is, as it were, divided into two parts — the necessity of admiring you, and of believing in you — and I do not know what besides, but something like dread of the terrible name which you bear. I deem myself bound to protest against those dreams of your heroism ; yet it fills me hot with horror — for a prisoner has nothing left but his dreams, and it is, therefore, so very inhuman to counteract them ! You ought to hate me, to hate all those republicans who cannot love you without afflicting you. A friend of mine told me the other day that he had said to you things of the very description calculated to be painful to your feelings ; but on seeing that you were thankful for his candor, he went away so touched with your greatness of mind, and your goodness, that he was not able to refrain from tears. O, yes, indeed, I well understand one might shed tears of tenderness over you ; but I understand also that one should prefer to rend one's heart rather than betray the great conqueress, the great empress, the great and most holy Equality.

“Are you going to say you are its champion as well as ourselves ? I would have believed it indeed, before reading your volume, but can do so no more.

“You must think us fools for dreaming of attaining the end without those powerful means in a rather warlike and absolute shape ; as to me, I do not know what we might be doomed to accept. I am not so closely connected with the political world as to have any



distinct anticipation on the subject, but I dread the man who would come to spread the wings of the imperial eagle over the popular legions. I would not come to clap him on the shoulder, like Falstaff, telling him, "God save thee, sweet boy." We know too well how Shakespeare's Henry V. answered his merry fellows, Sir John, Bardolph, and Pistol; but I could never make up my mind to think that that young eagle would not allow himself to grow intoxicated by the smell of gunpowder; and that then he would not fly through the smoke of victory much higher than he at first intended to soar. So it is, dear prince; pardon me, I adhere dotingly to the mountain for the past, and for the time to come to the thoroughly levelled plain.

"Do not regret having shown me confidence and kindness; I value them, and should never abuse them; it remains, however, for you to consider whether you may or not continue to notice such an ungovernable being.

"As to me, I shall retain as one of the most agreeable souvenirs of my life the remembrance of your kindness. You see I call you 'prince;' since you think your dignity calls upon you to preserve this title, it will never be for me to find it less legitimate than any of those of the ancient dynasties; but — but — I am not entitled to give you advice."

The only other important work written by the prince, during his captivity, was the first volume of "The Past and Future of Artillery." He intended to complete it in five volumes, with engravings; but his escape interrupted the design, and he had no opportunity afterwards to resume it.

We shall conclude this imperfect notice of the principal works of Louis Napoleon by asking the reader, who

has even only cursorily glanced at the extracts we have given, what he thinks of the opinion of Victor Hugo, who persists in calling the prince "a vulgar, commonplace personage, puerile, theatrical, and vain"? Instead of coinciding with the brilliant satirist, will he not regard the prisoner of Ham as a man of very considerable talent, which deep love of study and most untiring industry have enabled him fully to cultivate? He has, no doubt, also remarked that, though of a cold, uncommunicative temperament, and therefore little likely to inspire popular enthusiasm, Louis Napoleon is not without the gift of acquiring the most faithful and devoted personal friends. We shall now resume our narrative.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

*Great Reputation gained for Louis Napoleon by his Works. — The People of Central America solicit him, in case of Liberation, to superintend their contemplated Ship Canal. — Correspondence on the Subject. — Application of Louis Bonaparte, attacked by serious Illness, to see his Son at his Bedside, refused by the French Government. — The Prince's Letter to the King meets no better Success. — The Prisoner rejects the Terms offered by Government, and determines to effect his Escape at the first Opportunity.*

IF the composition of these works did not quite relieve the weariness of captivity, it had a powerful effect in maturing the prince's powers of thought, and spreading his reputation, not only among his own countrymen, but even to the distant regions of the new world. In

1843 the inhabitants of Central America, anticipating an approaching amnesty, besought the prince to make their shores his home for the remainder of his life. To this honorable invitation he did not appear very willing to accede, though he clearly foresaw that, even in the event of his liberation, residence in Europe would be totally interdicted. Perpetual exile in such distant lands was hardly less distasteful than perpetual imprisonment in his own. He did not, however, altogether reject the idea, but replied that if fate led him to those regions, he would delight to devote himself to some great works, such as the construction of a canal to unite the two oceans; and he commissioned a Frenchman to make the necessary investigations and surveys, that he might be able to form some idea of the practicability of the scheme of uniting the two oceans by means of the great lakes of those countries.

In 1844 Señor Castellan, minister plenipotentiary of the States of Central America, being in France on political business, had an interview with the prince, during which he entered at great length upon the importance of joining the two oceans, urging him to visit the country, and place himself at the head of the gigantic enterprise. Though unsuccessful in his exertions, he found the prince, to his surprise, possessed of such an intimate knowledge of all points in connection with the project under consideration, that he desired him to reduce to writing the ideas which arose in his mind on the subject. In compliance with this request, the prince soon afterwards forwarded to him in America certain memoranda, in which he proved, by general considerations, and from inquiries already made by his friends, that the undertaking was easy, and would be profitable,

promising immense results for that portion of America ; he pointed out, in fact, a route almost identical with that lately followed by the Nicaragua Transit Company, as not only less expensive than any other, but possessing other advantages not to be found elsewhere, especially at Panama. By dwelling on the project, the prince had at last come to like it so well that, fired with the glory such a work would reflect on his name, and little anticipating any opposition to his liberation from the French government, he informed the American States that should he be set at liberty, it was his intention to go to America, and place himself at the head of this undertaking.

As soon as this communication was made known throughout the country, a great number of the principal inhabitants petitioned their government to the effect that Napoleon Louis Bonaparte should be exclusively intrusted with the execution of the projected ship canal. Accordingly Señor Castellan wrote the prince the following letter :—

“ LEON DE NICARAGUA, Dec. 6, 1845.

“ PRINCE : It is with the greatest pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your highness's letter, dated the 12th of August, containing the expression of sentiments of friendship and esteem with which I feel highly honored. Annexed to it I found the development of your ideas relative to the canal of Nicaragua, viewed by you in that light which is best calculated to promote the welfare of Central America. You, at the same time, acquaint me that you are far more disposed than when I first paid you a visit at Ham to come to this country, in order to advance, by your presence and exertions, the execution of that great work, sufficient of itself to satisfy the most

noble ambition, and that you are ready to accept the necessary powers for its execution, without any other view than that of performing a task worthy of the great name you possess.

“When I went to France, some time ago, as minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the King of the French, I was anxious, before leaving Europe, to pay you a visit at Ham. I longed for the honor of seeing you, not only on account of the popularity which invested your name throughout the world, but also because I had myself witnessed the high esteem in which your character was held in your own country, and the sympathy exhibited for your misfortunes.

“It was also my wish, prince, to prevail on you to come to my country, fully convinced that you would find there an admirable opportunity for the display of your activity, and the exercise of your talents, which continued inaction might exhaust. I admired, prince, your resignation, and the love of your native land, standing even the test of imprisonment; but it was with great pleasure that I saw your mind exulted at the recital of the immense work to be executed in my country for the general advancement of civilization.

“I am happy to see by your highness’s letter, that you feel disposed to come to this country, where the documents you have forwarded to me have elicited sentiments of the deepest gratitude and of the liveliest enthusiasm.

“Now, I am happy to be enabled to acquaint your highness that the government of this state, fully convinced that the capital necessary to this undertaking could only be raised by placing at its head a name which, like yours, is independent both by fortune and

standing, and thereby inspiring a general confidence in the two worlds, whilst it dispels from the easily alarmed spirit of our people every fear of foreign domination — this government, I say, relies upon the coöperation of your highness, as the only person combining in the highest degree these different qualities. Brought up in a republic, your highness has shown by your noble behavior in Switzerland, in 1838, to what extent a free people may rely on your self-denial; and we feel convinced that, if your uncle, the great Napoleon, has rendered himself immortal by his military glory, your highness may acquire, with us, an equal glory in works of peace, which cause only tears of gratitude to flow.

“From the day on which your highness shall set foot on our soil, a new era of prosperity for the inhabitants will commence.

“The most influential persons of this capital, distinguished both by their learning and their wealth, have presented to the government a memorial recommending that your highness be intrusted with the final settlement and terms of the pending negotiation, or of any other which might present itself — intended to promote the welfare of the State of Nicaragua. The government has not rejected the suggestion, but it appears that, at all events, it will feel disposed to send me to you with the necessary instructions, to enable your highness and myself to come to an understanding on the subject.

“Another cause of the delay is the recent popular outbreak in the country; but the number of malcontents being exceedingly small, and the government being supported by public opinion, I think that this revolution will soon be appeased, and the government will be able

to display all the elements upon which it relies to insure permanent peace, and to give this project the strong impulse it justly demands. The government is moreover convinced that the construction of the canal, by giving employment to all those hands which are now unoccupied, will contribute efficaciously to the tranquillity and good of the people, harassed, for a long time, by the horrors of civil war.

"As much from a desire of bringing to a favorable issue this important matter, in which I am especially disposed to coöperate with all my ability, as from an ardent hope of seeing your highness ruling the destinies of our country, I long for the honor of paying you, were it but for a few hours, a visit at Ham, which I quitted last year full of grief at the prolongation of a captivity from which I earnestly prayed God to grant you a speedy release.

"I beg that your highness will continue to honor me with your correspondence, and that you will accept the expression of my respectful sentiments.

"FRANC. CASTELLAN."

A few months after this communication, the prince received at Ham a letter from Señor del Montenegro, minister of foreign affairs, conferring on him, officially, all the powers necessary for the organization of a company in Europe, and apprising him that the government of Nicaragua, by decision of the 8th of January, 1846, had determined to give that great work, which was to open a new route to the commerce of the world, the name of *Canal Napoleone de Nicaragua*. In consequence of that decision, Señor de Marcoleta, *Charge d'Affaires* of that country in Belgium and Holland,

having received official instructions from his government, went to Ham for the purpose of signing a treaty with the prince, conferring upon him full power to carry into effect the object in view.\*

But during the time that had elapsed from the date of the prince's acceptance of the honorable proposal of the Nicaraguans and that of the above reply, circumstances had occurred which gave his thoughts an entirely different direction, and finally led to his escape from the hands of the French government.

About the middle of August, 1845, his father, Louis Bonaparte, Ex-King of Holland, now Count of St. Leu, determined on taking some steps in order to obtain his son's liberation. He had hitherto carefully avoided any attempt of the kind; perhaps from a well-grounded apprehension of failure, but more probably from a desire on his part, that his son should expiate, by some years' imprisonment, what he considered the folly of his enterprises. But when five years had elapsed without bringing any relief to the condition of the captive prince, the unhappy father, who saw himself every day growing weaker by age and infirmities, felt more deeply than ever the void that was in his heart, and supposing that the atonement might by this time appear sufficient to the French government, decided on making an effort to hasten the hour of his son's deliverance. He sent to Paris a confidential agent, M. Poggioli, charging him to see M. Molé, ex-president of the council of ministers, M. de Cazes, grand referendary, and M. de Montalivet, secretary of the civil list. The letter addressed to the latter contained these words: "You are a father, and

\* "Prisoner of Ham," p. 197.



can therefore fully understand my feelings." These gentlemen enjoyed great influence, and their recommendation must have proved very efficacious; but their only reply to the prayer of a lonely father, to see his son for the last time before his death, was an intimation to the agent, that they would mention the matter to the ministers as soon as an occasion would present itself.

The principal ministers at that time were Marshal Soult, president of the council, M. Guizot, minister of foreign affairs, and M. Duchatel, minister of the interior.

Weeks slipped away, and M. Poggioli, continually put off, received no satisfactory reply. At last he informed the prince of the failure of his mission, at the same time saying that he had been spoken to vaguely on the subject of guarantees, without any precise form having been submitted. In consequence of this, Louis Napoleon addressed the following letter to M. Duchatel:—

*"To the Minister of the Interior.*

*"FORTRESS OF HAM, Dec. 25, 1845.*

"SIR: My father, whose age and infirmities require the attention of a son, has asked the government to allow me to join him.

"His application has not been attended with a favorable result.

"The government, I am told, requires a formal guarantee from me. In such circumstances my determination cannot be doubtful. I am ready to do every thing compatible with my honor, in order to offer to my father those consolations to which he has so many claims.

"I now, therefore, declare to you, sir, that if the French government consent to allow me to go to Flor-

ence, to discharge a sacred duty, I promise, upon my honor, to return and to place myself at the disposal of the government, as soon as it shall express a desire that I shall do so.

“Accept, sir, the expression of my high esteem.

“NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE.”

The only answer Poggioli could get from Duchatel, four days afterwards, was, that the affair was a grave one, and that he would submit it to the council of ministers. And on presenting himself at the house of the minister to learn the decision, he was told that “the prince’s request could not be acceded to, because it was contrary to law, and because it would be granting a full and free pardon, without the king having the merit of it.” “Send this answer to the prince,” added the minister.

M. Poggioli having observed that, as the prince had written directly, it would seem proper to send him a direct and official answer, Duchatel had recourse to the commandant of the fortress, to acquaint the captive with the refusal of his request. “Be good enough,” he wrote to the officer, “to inform the prince from me, that I have laid his request before the council, and that the council has not thought it within its power to grant it. This provisional liberation would be a disguised pardon; and whatever may be the rank of those who have been condemned, pardon can issue only from the clemency of the king.”

“The prince, wishing to take away every pretext of excuse, and from a regard to filial duty to make every sacrifice not incompatible with honor, resolved to address a letter directly to the king, and on the 14th of January, 1846, wrote the following:—

"SIRE: It is not without a lively emotion that I approach your majesty, and ask, as a favor, permission to quit France, even for a very short time. For five years I have found in breathing the air of my native country ample compensation for the torments of captivity; but my father is now aged and infirm, and calls for all my attention and care. He has applied to persons known for their attachment to your majesty, in order to obtain my liberation; and it is my duty to do every thing which depends upon me to meet his desires.

"The council of ministers not having felt itself competent to accede to the request which I made to be allowed to go to Florence, pledging myself to return and again become a prisoner as soon as the government might desire me to do so, I approach your majesty with confidence to make an appeal to your feelings of humanity, and to renew my request by submitting to your high and generous intervention.

"Your majesty, I am convinced, will appreciate a step, which, beforehand, engages my gratitude; and affected by the isolated position, in a foreign land, of a man who upon a throne gained the esteem of Europe, you will accede to the wishes of my father and myself.

"I beg your majesty to receive the expression of my profound respect.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

The Prince of Moscow\* presented this letter; Louis Philippe appeared satisfied, and, without breaking the seal, declared "that he thought the guarantee previously offered by the prisoner of Ham sufficient." But a

\* The son of Marshal Ney.

copy of the letter having been sent to the ministers by the commandant of the fort, they deliberated anew on the subject, and on the 25th of January, replied, "that in order to maintain the proper exercise of the king's clemency, it was necessary that this act of grace should be deserved and frankly avowed."

Thus it sought to impose a humiliation on the prisoner. He asked permission to go and receive the embraces and blessing of his dying father; they wished to compel him to ask pardon.

Many influential deputies devoted to the reigning family, and the most distinguished members of the opposition, such as Odillon Barrot, Lamartine, Arago, Dupont (de l'Eure), and Thiers, on hearing of the refusal that the prince had experienced, loudly blamed the conduct of the ministers, and made several lively remonstrances. It would seem that the king himself was willing to liberate the prisoner, and thus rid himself of the embarrassment which his protracted captivity was unquestionably becoming; but the ministers had set their heart on obtaining from Louis Napoleon a distinct renunciation on his part of all right to the throne of France, an acknowledgment of his past faults, and a written pledge never again to make war on the dynasty of Louis Philippe.

Such was the real though very delicately implied substance of a second letter to the king, which Odillon Barrot, in concert with Duchâtel, drafted and sent to the prisoner for signature. But as might have been expected, he decidedly refused to sign such a letter. "I shall die in prison," he exclaimed when he had read it, "if such unexampled severity condemns me to such a lot; but nothing shall induce me to degrade my character. My

father, moreover, who has always adopted for his motto, *Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra*, (do thy duty, happen what may,)—my father, I am convinced, would regard my liberty as too dearly purchased at the expense of my dignity, and of the respect which I owe to my name.” And on the next day, the prince put into the hands of Poggioli the following reply to Odillon Barrot :—

“HAM, Feb. 2, 1846.

“SIR: Before replying to the letter which you have been good enough to address me, allow me to thank you, as well as your political friends, for the interest you have shown, and the spontaneous steps which you have thought it consistent with your duty to take, in order to lighten the weight of my misfortunes. Be assured that my gratitude will never be wanting to those generous men who, in such painful circumstances, have extended towards me a friendly hand.

“I now proceed to state to you that I do not think it consistent with my duty to attach my name to the letter of which you have sent me a copy. The brave man who finds himself alone, face to face, with adversity, in the presence of enemies interested in depreciating his character, ought to avoid every kind of subterfuge,—every thing equivocal,—and take all his measures with the greatest degree of frankness and decision; like Cæsar’s wife, he must not even incur suspicion. If I signed the letter which you and many other deputies have recommended me to sign, I should, in fact, really ask for pardon without avowing it; I should take shelter behind the request of my father, like the coward who hides behind a tree to escape the enemy’s fire. I consider such a course unworthy of me. If I thought

it consistent with my condition and honor merely and simply to invoke the royal clemency, I would write to the king, 'Sire, I ask pardon.'

"But such is not my intention. For six years I have endured without complaining an imprisonment which is one of the natural consequences of my attack against the government; and I shall endure it for ten years longer, if necessary, without accusing either my destiny or the men who inflict it. I suffer, but I say to myself every day, 'I am in France; I have preserved my honor unstained;' I live without enjoyments, but also without remorse; and every evening I go to repose in peace. No steps would have been taken by me to disturb the calm of my conscience and the repose of my life, had not my father signified an earnest desire of having me near him again, during his declining years. My filial duty roused me from a state of resignation, and I took a step of which I fully weighed all the gravity, and to which I attached all that frankness and honesty which I desire to exhibit in all my actions. I wrote to the head of the state — to him alone who had the legal right to alter my position; I asked to be allowed to go and see my father — and spoke to him of honor, humanity, generosity, because I have no hesitation in calling things by their proper names. The king appeared satisfied, and said to the worthy son of Marshal Ney, who had the kindness to place my letter in his hands, that the guarantee which I offered was sufficient; but he has as yet given no intimation of his decision. His ministers, on the contrary, founding their resolution on a copy of my letter to the king, which I had sent them from deference, and taking advantage of my position and their own, caused an answer to be transmitted to

me, which was only adding insult to misfortune. Under the blow of such a refusal, and still unacquainted with the king's decision, my duty is to abstain from taking any step, and, above all, not to subscribe a request for pardon under the disguise of filial duty.

"I still maintain all that I said in my letter to the king, because the sentiments which I there expressed were deeply felt, and were such as appeared suitable to my position ; but I shall not advance a line farther. The path of honor is narrow and slippery, and there is but a handbreadth between the firm ground and the abyss.

"You may, moreover, be well assured, sir, that should I sign the letter in question, more exacting demands would be made. On the 25th of December I wrote rather a dry letter to the minister of the interior, requesting permission to visit my father. The reply was politely worded. On the 14th of January I determined on a very serious step ; I wrote a letter to the king, in which I spared no expression which I thought conducive to the success of my request ; I was answered with an impertinence.

"My position is clear ; I am a captive — but it is a consolation to me to breathe the air of my country. A sacred duty summons me to my father's side ; I say to the government, 'An imperious circumstance compels me to entreat from you, as a favor, permission to leave France. If you grant my request you may depend on my gratitude, and it will be of the more value, as your decision will bear the stamp of generosity ; for the gratitude of those who would consent to humiliate themselves in order to obtain an advantage would be valueless.'

"Finally, I calmly await the decision of the king —

a man who like me has lived through thirty years of misfortunes.

"I rely on the support and sympathy of generous and independent men like you. I commit myself to destiny, and prepare to resign myself to its decision.

"Accept, sir, &c., &c.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

This letter was unanimously approved of by the friends of the prince. Even Odillon Barrot could not help replying, "Though lamenting the determination which you have taken, I cannot blame the sentiment by which it is dictated. In such times as the present, elevation and nobility of soul I meet with too seldom not to be ready to honor them, even if carried a little too far."

The refusal of the prince, however, did not put a stop to negotiations. Thirty deputies, chosen from the most distinguished men of the Chamber, attempted a last step, and asked an audience of the king. It was immediately granted. Odillon Barrot was the spokesman; but to his most eloquent representations the king replied that he did not require the prisoner to humble himself so far as to ask for pardon, but merely to acknowledge that it was to the royal power he owed the permission to visit his father. Louis Philippe, it is said,\* then very energetically blamed the reply of Duchatel, which he called a "*jailer's answer*," though the rest of the matter was again referred to this minister.

For a short time after this conversation, Odillon Barrot still entertained some hopes; but he was soon convinced any further step would be useless. At the very

\* "Prisoner of Ham."



moment when the prince, almost certain of success, was preparing a letter of thanks to the king, he had the pain of learning in the following note the total failure of the attempt.

"Feb. 25, 1846.

"PRINCE: Our renewed negotiations have proved a failure; and if I have delayed to inform you of the fact, it was because up to yesterday I still retained some hope. The government speaks of present circumstances — the state of Italy — that of Switzerland. \* \* \* These circumstances would, nevertheless, have been overlooked, had a more explicit guarantee been given in your letter, because then they would have dispensed with the council of ministers. But politics not having been put out of the question, it was necessary to yield to the considerations of public order which prevailed in the council. So, for the present, considering the circumstances, no liberation is to be looked for.

"It is with great pain that I inform you of this result; I had begged Valmy to say to the king, that if we had completely differed, since 1830, in political opinions, I hoped that, at least, we agreed in sentiments of humanity and generosity. I now see that this is another of my Utopian ideas, which I shall be compelled to renounce.

Accept, &c.

"ODILLON BARROT."

Every hope of having the door of his dungeon opened by favor of the government, in order to visit his dying father, being thus cut off, the prince determined to have recourse to other steps for the recovery of his liberty.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Particulars of the Prince's Escape from the Fortress of Ham.*

EVERY project having thus failed, escape alone, with all its accompanying dangers, seemed to be the only remaining hope. To make the attempt and not to succeed was certain not only to draw down upon the prisoner a more rigorous captivity, but also to heap that ridicule upon him which is the constant attendant of failure. The prince, who had supported his captivity with so much fortitude, who had fearlessly exposed himself to the bayonets of Strasburg and the balls of Boulogne, could not bear the idea of braving that unassailable enemy, ridicule, whose attacks, especially in France, are always mortal. Still the desire of once more seeing his dying father determined him to make the bold and dangerous attempt.

Escape then was decided upon; the next thing to be done was to devise the plan. Until one was finally agreed upon, it was necessary to instil into the mind of the commandant the belief of an approaching amnesty, in order the more effectually to conceal the prisoner's projects from his observation. And it was not difficult to persuade him that, according to the secret information which the prince had received from his friends in Paris, the ministry appeared determined to proclaim a general amnesty towards the month of June, just before the elections, as had happened previously.

After hesitating between several plans, the prince ended by adopting the simplest, which consisted, first,

in finding a pretext for introducing workmen into the prison ; then he was to dress himself as one of them, and under the disguise to make his escape. Here accident wonderfully assisted him ; for, at the very time he was thinking on some pretext to persuade the commandant of the necessity of some repairs, the latter came to inform him that, in compliance with the request which he had made to the ministry more than a year before, it had been decided to repair the staircases and corridors of the buildings occupied by the prince, Count Montholon, Dr. Couneau and Charles Thélin. About a year before this Dr. Couneau's period of five years' imprisonment having nearly expired, the government had remitted the remainder of his punishment ; but instead of availing himself of the opportunity to recover his freedom, the doctor had written to the minister for permission to spend the rest of his life in the fortress, as the medical attendant of the prince. This generous devotion had been appreciated, and the permission granted. The doctor moreover was left perfectly free in his actions, and he and Thélin could go into the town whenever they liked.

Although it might be inferred from the conduct of the prince during the five years of his captivity, that he entertained no idea of attempting to escape, and although the report of an approaching amnesty was designedly spread abroad and generally credited, still the restless mind of the commandant and his own interest sufficed to render him suspicious, and to induce him to adopt precautions which his subalterns regarded as useless, and even ridiculous.

Nightfall invariably brought with it an increase of vigilance ; ten o'clock once struck, the commandant,

who, as we have already said, usually came to pass the evening with the prince, never failed to make sure that the keepers were on duty at the bottom of the stairs. Then he retired, locking the outer door and carrying off the key. Of the three keepers charged with the immediate surveillance of the prisoner's person, two were always stationed at the bottom of the stairs. The prince had observed that on certain days of the week one of them was accustomed to go and bring the public journals, and was generally absent for a quarter of an hour, leaving the post at the bottom of the stairs in charge of his companion for this short space of time. This was to be the moment of escape, as it then became more easy to turn away the attention of a single keeper. Next came the sentinels; but this consideration did not disturb the prince much. From the very commencement of his captivity all the precautions and fears had been directed against dangers from without. They were persuaded that the prince himself did not wish to escape; but they were, at the same time, apprehensive lest a troop of his partisans might attempt to release him.

The strictest orders were therefore given to prevent all persons whatsoever from approaching the fortress or stationing themselves under its walls. To go out was not interdicted; but it was strictly forbidden to allow any person to come in. Accordingly the sentinels were for the most part placed on the top of the ramparts, and chiefly towards the outer side, in order to guard against any surprise. The fortress, however, being small, it was easy to command it at all points. It was only by means of a disguise, then, that one could hope to escape their observation.

Here was the plan. Charles Thélin was to ask per-

mission to go to St. Quentin, as he had several times done before ; then he was to go and hire a carriage for the purpose. As he was leaving the prison to find the carriage, the prince, disguised as a workman, was to go out at the same time. This combination had two advantages ; it left Thélin at liberty to turn aside the attention of the keepers and soldiers from the pretended workman, by playing with *Ham*, the prince's dog, which was well known, and a great favorite with the garrison ; and, moreover, it gave him the opportunity of creating a diversion by calling to himself those who, taking the prince for a workman, might be disposed to speak to him.

The workmen had been already eight days engaged in making repairs within the prison, and these eight days had been carefully employed by the prince and his friends in studying their ways, and the extraordinary measures of precaution taken in their regard.

The vigilance observed on their arrival at and departure from the fortress, in a body, was very great. When they came to the first wicket they were obliged to defile, one by one, and to pass under the inspection of a sergeant and a keeper especially appointed for the purpose. The same minute inspection was repeated at their going out in the evening, when, moreover, the commandant himself was always present.

None of these particulars escaped the prince and his friends. They, besides, observed that whenever any of the workmen went to any retired part of the citadel, they were always strictly watched ; but when they went out of the fort for the purpose of fetching tools or materials of any description, as they followed the direct road across the principal yard, under the windows of the com-

mandant, and in sight of the garrison, — and thus exposed themselves to view for a considerable distance, — they excited no distrust, and were allowed freely to pass through the wicket and over the drawbridge. The prince therefore determined to attempt his escape in the same way : the plan required audacity indeed, but it offered the greatest chances of success. Seven o'clock in the morning was the moment selected to put his plan into execution. He had chosen this precise time for several reasons. The commandant, all whose cares and anxieties were connected with the evening, hardly ever rose before eight : this also was the time at which they might expect to find only one keeper at the bottom of the stairs ; finally, by leaving the fortress so early, it would be easy to reach Valenciennes in good time for the four o'clock train to Belgium. The prince had made no mention of his project to General Montholon. He was anxious not to compromise him by useless confidences, and still he would have found it very difficult to withhold from him his design, had not the general happened to be unwell just at the time.

Every thing, then, was to be ready by Saturday, the 23d of May, the day when, by the regular course and at the fixed hour, there was to be only one keeper at the foot of the stairs. But, by what at first appeared a very unfortunate accident, the prince was visited on that very day by some persons whom he had previously known in England, and whom he had expected to see sooner.

It was necessary, then, to put off the attempt till Monday, the 25th ; the consequences of this delay might be serious : it was by no means certain that the workmen would return in sufficient numbers to cover the escape, and it *was* certain that two keepers would be at

the foot of the stairs instead of one. Wishing, however, to derive some advantage from the visit, the prince asked his friends to lend their courier's passport to his *valet de chambre*, who was about to take a journey. The request was readily complied with. Thélin was thus in regular travelling order. As to the prince himself, by means of a friend in Paris, he had already procured a passport, of which, however, he afterwards made no use.

Sunday passed in the midst of great anxieties. The repairs being nearly finished, it was doubtful if there was work enough to be done on Monday to bring back many workmen. The provident Thélin, however, had asked them to be good enough to put up some shelves in a little recess, which was used for a cellar.

The difficulty did not consist merely in passing through the guards and door-keepers—it was also necessary to avoid being met by the workmen themselves, who were to be found in all directions, and were constantly superintended by the contractor of the works and an officer of the engineers. It is very easy to imagine what must have been the emotions of the prisoner at the approach of the decisive moment. Thinking on the past gave him little encouragement. Twice had he risked his life for a cause which he had thought it his duty to revive at the hazard of the greatest sacrifices; twice had these unfortunate attempts proved unqualified failures, and ridicule, the unsparing foe of ill success, had almost engulfed him in her overwhelming torrents. If he failed to-morrow, should he not be universally and forever regarded as a madman? The interest he had acquired by six years' sufferings, patiently endured, the consideration he had gained by his works, the very sacred cause

which called him to brave so many dangers — all would vanish, all would be forgotten. With what a magnificent theme he would furnish the wits of Europe in case he was discovered and brought back disguised in the humble garments of a workman! With what inextinguishable laughter would his triumphant enemies hail the news of his third abortive attempt, so much of a piece with the other two! But the die was cast; sink or swim, the attempt should be made. Dr. Couneau had undertaken to play the part necessary to screen the prince's departure, and to give him time to elude pursuit.

At last, on Monday, the 25th of May, 1846, early in the morning, the prince, Dr. Couneau, and Charles Thélin, standing behind the window curtains, which they kept carefully drawn, and with their shoes off to avoid making noise, watched the court yard, and impatiently awaited the arrival of the workmen. All was still silent in the interior of the fort; the sentinels alone paced slowly up and down before their sentry-boxes.

By a singular accident, the only soldier in the garrison whom they wished to avoid was this very moment on duty before the prince's door. This man, who had long been the confidant of the commandant, was accustomed to exercise a very scrupulous surveillance over the workmen; and the prince had already remarked him, when on duty, examining all their movements with the greatest attention, looking narrowly at their persons, and asking them where they were going.

It is easy to perceive how dangerous such an accident might be. The prince was the more disconcerted at this Argus's presence as it was probable he might remain on



duty till seven o'clock, and it was of the last importance to set out before that time, in order to avoid having a third keeper on their hands.

Fortunately, however, by another accident as singular, the hours of mounting guard had been changed in consequence of a review on Sunday, and the alarming grenadier was relieved at six o'clock. It had been arranged, that after having brought the workmen and artisans into the dining room to give them a morning dram, Thélín should precede the prince down stairs, in order to attract to himself the attention of the keepers. As to attempt to get the latter out of the way, it would be useless to think of it; the very evening before, the commandant, on his visit to the prison, not having found the men exactly at their post, had given strict orders, on pain of immediate dismissal, that two of them, at least, should always be at the wicket, as long as there was a workman in the prison. The prince, once in the court yard, was to precede Thélín, who at the same time was to follow him closely, in order, as we have said, to turn away, as well as he could, any person who, taking the prince for a workman, might be disposed to address him.

A little after five the drawbridge was lowered, and the workmen entered the fortress, and passed between two files of soldiers under arms. At first they were not so numerous as usual, and being Monday, they were better dressed than ordinary; the weather too, being very fine, they had no *sabots*; and, worst of all, from their dress there appeared to be no joiners among them, though it was disguised as a joiner that the prince had determined to attempt his escape. Now they became apprehensive lest the too scrupulous fidelity of the costume should betray the disguise. To bear a closer

resemblance to the artisans that he saw, the prince for a moment wished to give up the *sabots*, (wooden shoes,) but soon renounced the idea, for those which had been prepared for him, and into which he was to put his high-heeled boots, increased his height nearly four inches; and this alone made a most important change in his appearance.

To conceive a plan and to put it into execution are very different things. The plan in question was simple; but the principal difficulty in carrying it out lay in catching with resolution the favorable moment of going down the stairs and getting out of doors, while the workmen should be kept drinking, and the attention of the keepers diverted by the doctor and Thélín. It was necessary then that every thing should be in readiness beforehand, that the propitious opportunity might not be lost. The prince should be dressed and have his mustaches cut off. These preliminaries were indispensable; they were urgent; yet, on the other hand, should any thing occur to hinder his departure for that day, would not the very act of having cut off his mustaches betray his scheme to the commandant, and so render his escape forever after impossible? The doctor therefore entreated the prince to defer to the last moment an operation so trifling in itself, but in the present circumstances so alarmingly significant of a settled purpose not to be withdrawn.

The prisoner could not help smiling at the consternation that overspread his friends' countenances as they witnessed the razor performing this unusual operation.

During the hour which was yet to pass before quitting the prison, how many accidents might happen, how many circumstances might occur, which might oblige

them to put off their departure till next day ! Now the real dangers had commenced, and all those palpitating emotions which it is impossible to describe.

All felt a fluttering of the heart, but it was from no cowardly presentiment. The prince was certain of being fired upon if discovered in the attempt to escape ; but it was not by fear of death he was moved. Determined, however, to sell his life as dearly as possible, he provided himself with a poignard.

There was a talisman which the prince had always carried about him, but which he now thought of leaving in charge of his friend. It was a little portfolio containing two letters, — one from his mother, Hortense, the other from Napoleon, — the precious pledges of an abiding love and of the dearest recollections. When he thought that these papers might betray him in case of search on the frontier, he hesitated before placing them under his garments. But Dr. Couneau, seeing his difficulty, appeared to approve of this sacred superstition of the heart, and sentiment got the better of prudence. Prince Napoleon concealed carefully in his breast the only relics which he had at that time of the past grandeur of his family. The emperor's letter was addressed to Queen Hortense ; it contained these prophetic words regarding his nephew : " I hope he will grow and render himself worthy of the destinies which await him."

In the mean time the toilet operations were actively continued. Charles Thélin, from whose narrative the principal portion of the present chapter is taken, is here very circumstantial. The prince, he says, put on his usual dress, gray pantaloons and boots ; then he drew over his waistcoat a coarse linen shirt, cut off at the waist, a blue cotton handkerchief, and a blouse, not merely

clean, but somewhat elegant in its cut ; then he drew on a pair of large trousers of coarse blue linen, which had been worn and were very dirty. Under these he concealed the lower part of the first blouse, and finally put on, over all, a second blouse, as much worn and as dirty as the pantaloons. The rest of his costume consisted of an old blue linen apron, a wig, with long black hair, and a bad cap. Being thus apparelled, and his hands and face painted with red and black, the metamorphosis was complete.

The moment for action being now at hand, all emotion ceased, and the prince breakfasted as usual. The repast over, — an affair of a few minutes, — he put on his *sabots*, and took a common clay tobacco-pipe in his mouth. Having often remarked that many workmen, coming or going, carried long boards in or out, he loosened one of the long shelves of his library, hoisted it on his shoulder, and disposed himself to set out with this load, by means of which he hoped to be able to conceal his countenance, at least on one side.

At a quarter before seven, Thélín called together all the workmen who were engaged on the stairs, and invited them all into the dining room, where Laplace, a prison officer, was commissioned to pour out the liquor for them to drink. It was a certain means to get rid of him likewise. In a moment Thélín came to announce to the prince that there was not an instant to be lost. He then immediately descended the stairs, at the bottom of which were posted the two keepers, Dupin and Issale, and where, besides, a workman was occupied in repairing a balustrade. Thélín exchanged a few words with the keepers, who bade him good morning, and seeing that he had his overcoat on his arm and was prepared to

set out, they wished him a good journey. To secure the prince a passage, it was necessary to neutralize the vigilance of, at least, one of these two keepers. So, pretending to have something to say to Issale, Thélín drew him aside from the wicket, and so placed himself that Issale, in order to hear, must have his back towards the prince.

At the very moment when the prince quitted his chamber, some of the workmen were already coming out of the dining room, situated at the other end of the corridor. The *rencontre* might have proved dangerous had not Dr. Couneau been there to engage them a few moments by asking them some questions supplied by his ready wit; and none of them observed the prince, who was slowly passing down the stairs. When he came within a few steps of the bottom he found himself face to face with Dupin, the keeper, who, however, had to draw back in order to avoid the plank, which, placed horizontally on the prisoner's shoulder, prevented his profile from being seen and undoubtedly recognized. The prince then passed through the wickets, going behind Issale, whom Thélín kept in close conversation. He then entered the court yard, where a workman, who came down the stairs immediately after him, followed him very closely, as if he wished to ask him some question. He was a locksmith's journeyman; but Thélín immediately called him to himself, and easily succeeded in devising some pretext to send him back again up stairs.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Continuation of Louis Napoleon's Escape from Ham.—Arrival in London, and Letter to the French Ambassador.—Doctor Couneau.*

WHEN we left the prince he was in the midst of all the perils and difficulties of his attempt; he had just quitted the building, and was entering the court yard.

On passing before the first sentinel, the pipe dropped from the prince's mouth, and fell at the soldier's feet; he stopped to pick it up; the soldier looked at him mechanically and continued his monotonous pace. It was almost a miracle that he was not recognized. Every step he took he met persons perfectly familiar with his features, and deeply interested in discovering him. Near the canteen he passed very close to the officer of the guard, who was reading a letter. The officer of engineers and the contractor of the works were some paces farther off, busily engaged in examining papers. His road led him through a score of soldiers, who were basking in the sun in front of the guard house. The drummer looked at the man with the plank with an insulting glance, but the sentinel did not appear to notice him.

The gate-keeper was at the door of his lodge, but he only looked at Thélin, who still kept a few yards behind, and in order more effectually to draw attention on himself, played boisterously with *Ham*, the prince's dog, which he led in a leash. The sergeant, who was standing by the side of the wicket, looked steadily at the prince; but his examination was interrupted by a movement of

the plank, and its forward end being directed right against the soldier who held the bolt, obliged *him* also to turn aside. The bolt was immediately drawn, the prince went out, and the door closed behind him. Th  lin then wished the gate-keeper good day, and passed out in his turn.

Between the two drawbridges the prince saw two workmen coming straight towards him, on the side too on which his face was not concealed by the plank. They looked at him with great earnestness from the distance at which they still were, and in a loud voice expressed their surprise at not knowing him. Fearing lest their surprise might impel them to seek an unpleasant explanation, the prince, pretending to be tired of carrying the plank on his right shoulder, moved it to the left; the men, however, appeared so curious that the prince thought for a moment he should not be able to escape them; and when at last they were near, and appeared as if about to speak to him, he had the satisfaction of hearing one of them exclaim, "O, it is Berthoud!"

Through this inconceivable but fortunate mistake, success was now complete. The prince was free forever—at least he hoped so—from those walls in which he had been immured five years and nine months.

He had no knowledge of the town of Ham; but guiding his steps by a map of the neighborhood constructed by Dr. Couneau, he took, without hesitation, the road along the ramparts, which joins the high road to St. Quentin, whilst Th  lin went into the town to get the carriage which he had engaged the evening before.

The prince, filled with emotions which we may easily comprehend, though we need not attempt to describe them, advanced at a brisk pace, and in spite of the *sabots*,

soon reached a distance of two miles from the town, near the cemetery of St. Sulpice. There he stopped for the carriage. A rough crucifix stood in the middle of the burying ground. The fugitive prostrated himself before the symbol of redemption, and offered up hearty thanksgivings to the Master of all things, who had led him, as it were, by the hand, through the midst of so many dangers.

The sound of an approaching carriage was soon heard, and Thélín was seen hastening up. The prince was about ridding himself of his plank, when he perceived another carriage coming from St. Quentin. He therefore resumed his walk, in order to give the carriage room to pass, and Thélín slackened his pace with the same intent. At length the prince threw his plank, which had been indeed a *plank of deliverance*, into a cornfield, jumped into the carriage, took off the *sabots*, threw them into a ditch, and, in order to commence his new character, which was that of a coachman, he seized the reins and began to drive. The two travellers, at the same moment, saw two mounted *gens d'armes* of Ham coming out of the village of St. Sulpice; the alarm, however, did not last long; the horsemen, before coming up with the carriage, turned off on the road to Peronne.

The five leagues which separated Ham from St. Quentin were rapidly passed. At each change of horses, Thélín concealed his face as much as possible with his handkerchief; this, however, did not prevent him, as was afterwards said, from being recognized by several persons, and, among others, by the commissary of police, who was returning to Ham from St. Quentin. Moreover, we are assured that an old woman expressed great astonishment at seeing the prince's valet accompanied by a man so badly dressed.



Approaching St. Quentin, the prince took off the old trousers, the dirty blouse, and the old cap, retaining the smaller blouse, and the wig, and put on a braided cap. He then alighted from the carriage, in order to turn round the town of St. Quentin on foot, and gain the Cambray road, where Thélin was to rejoin him with fresh horses.

Thélin was well received at the post house, where he was an old acquaintance ; they pressed him to stay for breakfast, but in his anxiety to proceed he would accept of nothing but a generous slice of a cold pastry lying on the table, which, carefully wrapped up in paper, soon afterwards furnished a capital repast for the prince, for which his long walk had provided an excellent appetite.

In spite of his impatience, Thélin dared not hurry the post people too much, for fear of awakening suspicions. The prince, therefore, by this time on the Cambray road, not seeing the carriage come, began to grow uneasy. He feared it might have gone on whilst he was making his way around the town, and that he was now left behind. Seeing a gentleman approaching in a carriage from the direction of Cambray, he asked him if he had not met a post chaise. He was answered in the negative ; but his informant, as he afterwards learned, was no other than the king's procurator at St. Quentin, the very man who would have been charged with the prosecution, had he been apprehended in his flight.

Sitting on the roadside, he was growing more concerned every minute, when, at last, the welcome sight of the little dog, *Ham*, announced the approach of the post chaise. Thélin, in a small carriage, harnessed to two excellent horses, soon made his appearance. The prince jumped in, and the postilion resumed his jour-

ney at a gallop. From this moment all danger of capture seemed nearly impossible. Notwithstanding the distance walked, and the time lost in procuring and changing carriages, it was not yet nine o'clock ; and even supposing — which was most improbable — that the prince's escape had been discovered immediately after his leaving the fortress, the authorities must have lost time in making a *reconnaissance*, in closely examining the fortress, in writing despatches, and in sending off the *gens d'armes* in all directions. Even when the event was known, it was to Amiens and Paris that the first despatches were sent. The travellers, however, wishing to make assurance doubly sure, tried to induce the postilion by every means in their power to push his horses to their speed. He became a little impatient at their eagerness, and answered them sharply, but, nevertheless, continued to make the pavement smoke beneath the horses' feet.

No incident worthy of notice occurred till their arrival at Valenciennes, which, thanks to the postilion's exertions, they reached at a quarter past two. This was the only place where they were asked for their passport. Thélín presented that of the English courier, but the prince did not find it necessary to show his.

The train for Brussels not leaving till four o'clock, the prince would have willingly taken post horses to gain the frontier of Belgium ; but this mode of travelling had become so rare since the opening of the railroad that such a step would be certain to lead to remarks. He decided then to wait at the depot for the starting of the next train. Though capture was now the next thing to an impossibility, Thélín was not quite at his ease on the subject of the *gens d'armes*. He had his eye constantly on the watch to guard against a surprise. Suddenly he

hears himself called by name, and, turning round, he recognizes — whom? A *gen-d'arme* from Ham in a citizen's dress! Even the sight of this terrible apparition did not make the brave fellow lose countenance. He addressed him boldly, but was soon relieved. The *gen-d'arme*, after asking for the prince's health, told him that he himself had quitted the service a short time before, and was now employed on the Northern Railroad, at the Valenciennes depot.

Louis Napoleon soon reached Brussels — Ostend — England.

On his arrival in London he wrote to Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, to apprise them of his escape, and of his intention to place himself once more under the protection of their hospitable laws. Sir Robert barely acknowledged the receipt of his letter; but Lord Aberdeen told him, in a very courteous reply, that “after the explanations given in his letter, his sojourn could be disagreeable neither to her majesty the queen, nor to her government.”

The prince then wrote to the Count St. Aulaire, then the French ambassador, announcing in the most formal manner his intention to undertake nothing against the French government. This letter was published in the daily journals of the time, and, as usual, we present it to our readers.

“*To the Count St. Aulaire.*”

“LONDON, May 28, 1846.

“SIR: I come frankly to declare to the man who was the friend of my mother, that, in quitting my prison, I have had no idea of renewing against the French government a war that has been so disastrous to me. My only wish has been to go and see my aged father.

“ Before resolving on this extremity, I had exhausted every means of solicitation to obtain permission to go to Florence, offering every guarantee compatible with my honor. All my entreaties being rejected, I did what the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Guise did, in the reign of Henry IV., under similar circumstances.

“ I beg you, sir, to inform the French government of my peaceable intentions, and I hope that this spontaneous assurance on my part will contribute to abridge the captivity of my friends, who are still in prison.

“ I have the honor, &c.,

“ N. L. BONAPARTE.”

Let us now return to Dr. Couneau, whom we left in the prince's chamber, concerting measures to conceal his departure, in order to give him time to effect his escape. He was anxious, if possible, to gain at least twenty-four hours. He placed a stuffed figure in the prince's bed, which, when covered up in the clothes, closely resembled the human form. He then closed the door leading from the bed chamber into the saloon, and kindled a strong fire, although, in fact, the weather was very warm, to countenance the supposition that the prince was ill. With the same intent he put the coffee pot on the fire, and told Laplace, the man of all work, that the prince was indisposed. About eight o'clock, a packet of violet plants arriving by the *diligence*, he told the keeper to put them in some pots filled with earth, and prevented him from entering the prince's saloon. About half past eight, Laplace came and asked where they would breakfast. “ In my room,” replied the doctor. “ Shall I fetch the large table ? ” asked Laplace. “ That is unnecessary,” was the reply ; “ the general is ill, and will not breakfast with us.”

At nine the commandant came to the saloon, and asked for the prince. "He is not quite well," said the doctor, "and does not wish to be seen. If you have nothing particular to say, pray do not disturb him." The commandant merely looked in at the door, and thinking he saw the prince in bed, went away without suspicion. The doctor had ordered medicine and an emetic for the patient. To lull suspicion somebody had to take the latter: he took it himself, and attempted to perform the consequent functions. Finding this impossible, he took some coffee and threw it into a basin of water with some crumbs of bread, and added nitric acid, which produced a very disagreeable odor: the man of all work was now fully persuaded that the prince was seriously unwell.

At about half past twelve the doctor saw the commandant for the second time, as he was examining the works, and informed him that the prince was somewhat easier. The commandant expressed his satisfaction, and offered to send his own servant, in consequence of Thérèse's absence. Couneau declined, but about about one, told Laplace to come and make the prince's bed. While doing so, the man of all work heard the doctor talking in a small adjoining saloon, and naturally concluded that the prince was there lying on the sofa.

About two the commandant came again, and found the prince's room door shut. Learning, however, from the doctor that the patient had just taken a bath, and was then enjoying a refreshing slumber, he retired again without disturbing him. He sent, however, for Laplace. "Well," he asked, "how goes the prince?" "He is better," replied the man of all work. "What is he doing now?" "He is asleep at present: a short time

ago he was talking in his saloon with the doctor," replied the simple Laplace. The commandant, supposing that the domestic had seen the prince, felt quite at ease until evening, when, again meeting him, he asked how the patient was. The man of all work replied he did not know. "When did you see him last?" asked the commandant. "I have not seen him since six o'clock this morning," was the alarming reply.

Filled with uneasiness he ran to the prince's saloon, and asked the doctor where he was.

"The prince is much better," replied the doctor. "His sickness need not prevent me from speaking to him — I *must* speak to him," exclaimed the commandant, in a tone that rendered much further dissimulation out of the question. However, the doctor went into the chamber, and pretended to call the prince. The prince, *naturally enough*, made no reply, and the doctor, returning, made the commandant a sign that the patient was asleep. "Well," said he, "the prince will not be always asleep. I shall wait till he awakes;" and sitting down, he commenced to talk with the doctor.

During the conversation he observed that the time for the arrival of the diligence was passed, and expressed his wonder that Thélin was not returned. But for this the doctor had a simple explanation — Thélin had taken a carriage. The drums soon beat the evening call, and the commandant, starting up, entered the bed chamber, exclaiming, "The prince has moved in his bed; he is waking up."

The brave officer stretched his ear, *but he could hear no breathing*.

"O, let him sleep on!" said the doctor, doing his best to keep his countenance.

But the commandant approached the bed, and discovered the stuffed figure.

His consternation was great, but he restrained his anger.

"Has the prince escaped?" he asked, calmly.

"Yes."

"When did he go?"

"At seven o'clock this morning."

"Who were the persons on guard?"

"I don't know."

These were the only words exchanged between the doctor and the commandant on the occasion.

The latter immediately took the promptest measures to set authority on the track of the fugitives. But, as may be readily supposed, they were altogether futile. It was too late.

The commandant's wife fainted on hearing of the prisoner's escape. She knew that such an event seriously compromised her husband, and perhaps completely ruined his future prospects. Couneau was locked up, and never let out of sight. All those that could be suspected of having favored the escape, either through connivance or through negligence, were also imprisoned. Three days afterwards, the commandant was summoned to Paris to give an account of his conduct, and to explain matters. On his return to Ham he was deposed from his command, and himself laid under arrest.

It has been pretended that the prisoner's escape had been facilitated by government; but such a supposition is absurd. A judicial inquiry was immediately ordered, and the public prosecutor was charged to institute a searching investigation, in order to discover, if possible, all those who had aided the prince in the accomplishment of his project.

After two months' examination and preparation, the trial opened on the 10th of July, and lasted three days. The principal accused were Couneau and Thélin — the latter absent; then, the Commandant Demarle, Laplace, the man of all work, and Dupin and Issalé, the keepers at the first wicket. The three latter were at once acquitted, as it was easily proved that they had been at their post, and had not coöperated in the escape. The innocence of the commandant was equally evident, and loudly proclaimed, and the worthy man was honorably discharged.

As to Dr. Couneau, interrogated by the president, he gave the whole history of his life. A word or two regarding this devoted man.

Born in Lombardy, in 1803, of French parents, he was for some time secretary to Louis, Ex-King of Holland, father of the prince. Having studied medicine at Florence, he received the diploma of doctor at Rome, in 1828. During the Italian insurrection of 1831, in which, as may be remembered, Louis Napoleon had been deeply implicated, a friend of Couneau's having received five bayonet thrusts, the doctor attended him professionally, and had to quit Italy in consequence; punishment of the galleys being threatened on every physician who did not reveal all he knew of the conspiracy. He had made the prince's acquaintance in Italy, and some time afterwards wrote to him for letters of introduction. The reply was an invitation to Arenenberg. There the Queen Hortense conceived such an esteem for him, that, anxious to leave him some memorial in her will, she begged him to remain with her son for the remainder of his life. Such a request he regarded as an order, and it is unnecessary to say how scrupulous was his obedience.



However, he was condemned to prison for three months, and Thélin, for contempt of court, received sentence of six months' imprisonment, which, we need hardly say, he did not undergo. Thélin has been distinguished by the prince by the title of friend, which he has so well deserved, and the disinterested Couneau, as we all know, is, at the present day, nothing less and nothing more than the devoted friend and faithful medical attendant of his majesty, Napoleon III.

Soon after the prince's escape, General Montholon obtained pardon from the royal clemency, and was restored to his family. He died a few years ago; but his children continue to receive every mark of the imperial favor. Thus terminated the curious episode of the escape of Louis Napoleon.

We know that it was to close the dying eyes of his aged father that he had decided on flight. This mournful consolation, however, he was not permitted to enjoy. Applying for passports to the representatives of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in London, he met a decided refusal. "Such a favor," said the diplomatic agent, "would imply a disregard to the French government." The Count of St. Leu then addressed himself directly to the Grand Duke Leopold, but received for reply the statement "that *French influence* did not permit him to tolerate, even for twenty-four hours, the sojourn of Louis Napoleon in Florence." This was a finishing blow to the dying father. He expired shortly after, on the 25th of July, 1846, unattended by his only surviving son, to whom he wished to give his last blessing. A moulder of Leghorn took a cast of his features, which he sent as a last and pious souvenir to the prince. The body was embalmed, and deposited in the Church

of St. Catherine, at Leghorn, until permission would be obtained to transport it to France. It is at St. Leu, by the side of his father and of his eldest son, that the remains of Louis Bonaparte, Ex-King of Holland, in conformity with the wish expressed in his will, now repose. He would not have his grave an exile.

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## CHAPTER XX.

*Louis Napoleon in England until February, 1848. — Short Sketch of the first French Revolution.*

LOUIS NAPOLEON was now free — once more breathing the air of that country which, whatever may be her other faults, has been truly described as

“Still, as in olden time,  
Sheltering within her dreadless arms  
Exiles of every clime.”

The exile lived in comparative obscurity in the neighborhood of London, working at his new work, “*Mélanges Politiques*.” In the following year, 1847, the remains of his father, in compliance with his will, were transferred from Italy to St. Leu, where they were buried on the 29th of September, as was mentioned in the last chapter. All the surviving members of the old imperial armies, officers and private soldiers, eagerly seized this opportunity to pay their last duties to the brother of their venerated emperor. The prince, of course, could not be present at this touching ceremony; but he wrote the following letter to Captain Lecompte, who had commanded the guard of honor on the occasion: —

*"LONDON, October 4, 1847.*

"SIR: The testimonies offered to the memory of my father, on the 29th of September, have deeply affected me; and I was above all things touched on hearing that a great number of the ancient warriors of the empire had assisted at this pious ceremony.

"I come to-day to thank those glorious veterans of our army, through the medium of their worthy leader, for the tribute of homage they have bestowed upon an ancient companion in arms.

"It is not the man whom chance and the fortunes of war made king for a brief period that you have honored with your regrets, but the old soldier of the republican armies of Italy and Egypt. A man who remained but a short time upon the throne, and who paid for a few years of glory by forty years of exile, and died isolated in a foreign land. The sympathy which has attended his obsequies is something more than an act of homage. It is a reparation for the past.

"Permit me, therefore, to thank you for your attendance; for thus to express to you my sentiments of gratitude is somewhat to mitigate the bitter grief which I experience at not having had an opportunity of kneeling before the tomb of my family, and makes me forget, for a moment, that I am condemned, as it appears, to remain forever removed from the men whom I love the best, and from objects which are most dear to me.

"Receive, &c.

"NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE."

Of the impression produced by Prince Louis Napoleon on the greatest minds in England, during his last residence in that country, a period of nearly two years,

a most satisfactory opinion may be gleaned from the two following extracts. They are taken from letters written by the greatest men of the day. The first is from Walter Savage Landor, a brilliant scholar, a profound, original thinker, and a highly independent and honorable man. It was written to Lady Blessington some time after the election of the prince to the presidency of the republic. The Italics are our own.

"January 9, 1849.

"Possibly you may never have seen the two articles which I enclose. I inserted in the *Examiner* another, deprecating the anxieties which *a truly patriotic, and, in my opinion, a singularly wise man, was about to encounter in accepting the presidency of France. Necessity will compel him to assume the imperial power, to which the voice of the army and people's will call him.*

"You know (who know not only my writings, but my heart) how little I care for station. I may therefore tell you safely that I feel a great interest, a great anxiety, for the welfare of Louis Napoleon. I told him if he ever were again in a prison I would visit him there, but never, if he were upon a throne, would I come near him. *He is the only man living who would adorn one ;* but thrones are my aversion and abhorrence. *France, I fear, can exist in no other condition.* Her public men are greatly more able than ours, but they have less integrity. Every Frenchman is by nature an intriguer. It was not always so to the same extent ; but nature is modified, and even changed, by circumstances. Even garden statues take their form from clay.

"God protect the virtuous Louis Napoleon, and prolong in happiness the days of my dear, kind friend, Lady Blessington.

"WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

"I wrote a short letter to the president, and not of congratulation. May he find many friends as disinterested and sincere."

The Duke of Wellington possessed a keen insight to character. In a letter to the Count D'Orsay, dated April 9, 1849, written in his usual terse, blunt style, the following passage occurs : —

*"Je me rejouis de la prospérité de la France, et du succès de M. le Président de la république. Tout tend vers la permanence de la paix de l'Europe, qui est nécessaire pour le bonheur de chacun.*

*"Votre ami très dévoué,*

*"WELLINGTON."*

("I rejoice at the prosperity of France, and the success of the President of the republic. Every thing tends towards the permanent tranquillity of Europe, which is necessary for the happiness of all.")

Such testimonies as these, coming from such sources, give very slight countenance to the reports we so often hear, relating to the unprincely associations in which Louis Napoleon is charged by his unscrupulous enemies to have been concerned, and to the wild pranks in which he is said to have indulged. One fact is worth a thousand assertions. Could a gentleman of the exalted genius and high social position of Walter Savage Landor have written such a letter as we have given, of one whom he did not know by intimate acquaintance to be highly honorable and upright in his conduct ?

The prince was thus gaining the most enviable friendship and esteem, and perhaps expecting his exile was still to last many a long year, when the revolution of Feb-

ruary, 1848, burst on the startled world. One of its first effects was his return to France.

Though at the risk of telling our readers nothing but what they know already, we must take a rapid sketch of the causes which led to this explosion. It may not be strictly considered to be within the compass of our work ; but it will at least enable us to follow subsequent events more consecutively.

We shall first take a rapid sketch of the principal events of the French revolution.

This day sixty years ago the name Bonaparte was as little known to mankind as that of the humblest officer in the Russian army is now. But we must go farther back. Little more than eighty years ago, two years before the independence of our republic was proclaimed, Louis XVI., a Bourbon prince, ascended the throne of France. An excellent man, a Christian worthy of the name, of a noble, generous disposition, he was truly desirous of the happiness of his people ; and had he lived in other times, after a long and happy reign, he would have tranquilly sunk to repose amid the tears and blessings of faithful subjects. But he was fated to be the innocent victim of ages of tyranny, misrule, and crime. His gentle disposition only hastened a convulsion which perhaps even a more energetic and inflexible spirit could not have counteracted. The kingdom was in the most alarming condition, and as years rolled away matters only grew worse. An increasing inadequacy of the revenue to meet the ordinary demands of government, which all the exertions of the most eminent statesmen successively failed in remedying, (the inevitable consequence of the reckless and profligate expenditure of the preceding monarchs ;) the unblushing

corruption of the aristocracy, and of much of the middle classes, brought about by the general diffusion of the heartless and godless works of such men as Voltaire, Rousseau, and the encyclopædists ; the sight of the Great Republic, where man had, as it were, resumed his original dignity, on the other side of the Atlantic, which French arms had materially assisted in establishing ; and, under all, and infinitely more portentous than all other considerations combined, the deep-seated, burning discontent of a noble people, reeling under centuries of aggravated wrongs, and stung to madness by the everyday scenes of peasants dying of starvation, that effeminate nobles might revel in luxury, — these complicated causes for an approaching explosion presented unfortunate Louis with a problem for solution too difficult, perhaps, for the greatest genius that ever appeared on this earth. It had to be done, however, and he undertook it in good faith. When ministers had hopelessly failed, he had recourse to the last remaining step, a convocation of the *States General*, to provide for the difficulties of the country. This assembly, composed of the sovereign, the nobles and clergy, and the *Tiers Etat*, (the third estate, consisting of the representatives of *bourgeoisie*, the middle and lower classes of the nation,) opened with great splendor on May 5, 1789.

The *Tiers Etat*, confident of public support, and able and energetic in its measures, led on by the famous Mirabeau, soon induced the king to order the nobility and clergy to sit in the lower house, and there vote like the other representatives of the people. This union of orders in one assembly, at first called the *National*, but soon changed to the *Constituent Assembly*, was the signal for the destruction of a legislative nobility. The

new body declared itself permanent, and in fact, if not in name, took all the power into its own hands. It passed many unnecessary and unjustifiable decrees, but feudal rights were abolished, distinctions of rank annulled, and all Frenchmen were declared free citizens, with equal privileges before the eyes of the law. A constitution, founded on justice and prudence, the king promised to sustain.

But the state of men's minds, so highly excited as to effect such violent changes within such a short time, led the people into many excesses. The Bastille was destroyed; a savage multitude proceeded from Paris to Versailles, and forced the king and royal family to return to the Tuileries, whence, in an agony of terror at the brutal deeds every day perpetrated around them, the august captives made an ineffectual attempt to escape. The great words "Liberty" and the "Rights of Man" seemed to have effaced from men's hearts every suggestion of religion, duty, and humanity, though in an extreme spirit of disinterestedness, afterwards repented of as the wildest folly, the Constituent Assembly, before separating, by a solemn decree pronounced themselves incapable of being reelected.

The consequences of this rash act were immediate. The Constituent Assembly, taken all in all, and viewed under every aspect, was an extremely able body, and perhaps sufficiently prudent to have guided France through a comparatively bloodless revolution. It had been composed of the experience, the responsibility, the *common sense* of the country, and of whatever religion was still left among the middle and upper classes. But their labors were now lost to France in this dark hour of danger.



The new body, called the *Legislative Assembly*, consisted almost exclusively of young men of great talent, but little fortune, many perhaps sincerely desirous of constitutional liberty, but most entertaining extravagant ideas regarding its nature ; all restless, ambitious, demagogical, utterly irreligious, and well inclined towards a republic, as offering a more favorable theatre to their future career. Austria and Prussia, alarmed at the spread of democratic ideas, and instigated by the reports of the emigrants who were now flying the country in great numbers, declared war against France. The Legislative Assembly, nothing daunted, boldly bade them defiance, and prepared for battle.

Still, even this energetic government was considered to be deficient in zeal. The leaders of the Jacobin Club, a secret organization extending all over France, had been for some time the *real* authorities in the country, and now formed an *Insurrectionary Committee* to overthrow the existing government. They were but too successful. The consequences of the sanguinary insurrection of the 10th of August, 1792, were, a decree suspending the functions of the king, another consigning him to prison, and another abolishing monarchy, proclaiming a republic, and replacing the Legislative Assembly by the *National Convention*. Then, indeed, it seemed as if Pandemonium had broken loose. Within four days, in September, fifteen thousand prisoners were murdered in cold blood by the fiendlike populace of Paris. The king and queen were put to death ; the Christian religion was abolished, and replaced by the worship of reason ; the existence of a Supreme Being was denied ; and dates were henceforward to be reckoned, not from the Christian era, but from the era of the

foundation of the French republic — the 22d of September, 1792. The reign of terror commenced; the revolutionary tribunal was established; the wildest excesses of barbarity, accompanied by every species of horror, became of daily occurrence. France surged in blood; and it is now hardly a matter of surprise that nearly all the other nations of Europe, astounded at these atrocities, formed a *coalition*, offensive and defensive, against the growth of such monstrous republicanism. External force, however, did little towards settling matters. At each new accession of danger to the "republic," the frantic energy of her leaders rose in proportion: they put fresh resources into requisition, and gained many triumphs over her numerous enemies.

But the Convention soon split into two factions. The more moderate party, the Girondists, talented and sincere, but insane, of course had to yield to their relentless opponents — Danton and Robespierre; and twenty-one of them expiated on the scaffold their criminal weakness in consenting to Louis's condemnation. Within six months the Convention again split. The Robespierre and Danton factions became mortal foes. Audacious Danton perished, and wily Robespierre again triumphed. But France was now glutted with blood. Whilst Robespierre lived no head was safe.

A conspiracy of the *Thermidorians* destroyed the usurper. The reaction had commenced. The Jacobin clubs were abolished. The radical party resisted and conspired, but was defeated and disarmed.

It was by the active assistance afforded by the *Sections*, or middle classes of Paris, that the government had been so far triumphant. But the reaction now appearing to run to an extreme, the Convention, to give stability to

the republic, thought proper to frame a new constitution. The new government was to consist of *two* Chambers and an executive *Directory*. The lower chamber was to be called the Council of *Five Hundred*, renewable every third year ; the upper the Council of *Ancients*, consisting of two hundred and fifty members, at least forty years of age, also renewable every third year ; and the Directory was to consist of *five* members, renewable every year by a fifth. With greater wisdom than had been displayed by the Constituent Assembly, the Convention boldly resolved that the new legislative body should, in the fraction of two thirds, be composed of the members of the existing convention, and that only one third should be newly chosen. The constitution, with this resolution attached, was presented to the French people for ratification, and was almost unanimously adopted.

This universal acceptance, especially of the resolution, was particularly displeasing to the sections. They were jealous of the Convention, and accused it of undue partiality towards the *Terrorists*. The royalists, seeing the probability of some permanence in the republic in case of the establishment of the new constitution, took every means to foment the grudge. Matters came to such a pass that a conspiracy was determined on to overthrow the Convention. On the 13th *Vendemiaire*, (October 5,) 1795, the sections, twenty-seven thousand strong, arrayed in military order, and provided with artillery, marched towards the Tuileries, where the government was sitting. The Convention had only eight thousand men to oppose them ; but they had, the previous evening, placed this force under the command of a young officer, of whose military ability they had

received a very assuring report. He justified their confidence. He took every precaution to defend the government, and then rushed on the sections with a fury for which they were totally unprepared; charged them with cannon loaded with grape before they could recover from their confusion; shot down Parisians as mercilessly as if they were Austrians; in a word, the Convention again was in the ascendant, and the name BONAPARTE, since so common, then for the first time passed from mouth to mouth, coupled with expressions of terror and admiration.

On the 27th of October, 1795, the new legislative bodies met and chose five directors, who immediately established themselves in the palace Luxembourg. One of their first acts was to nominate Bonaparte general in chief of the army in Italy. Hitherto the armies of the republic had met with various successes. The soldiers certainly were very brave, but, as might be expected, preferred talking politics to fighting, and were more ready to depose an energetic commander than to obey him. They, moreover, often suffered severely from a want of the most indispensable requisites of war. But no sooner did Bonaparte come amongst them, than, to use the words of Carlyle, "the uncertain heap of shrieking mutineers became a phalanxed mass of fighters; and wheeled and whirled to order swiftly, like the wind or whirlwind; tanned mustachio figures, often barefoot, even barebacked, with sinews of iron, who require only bread and gunpowder; very sons of fire, the adroitest, hastiest, hottest, ever seen, perhaps, since Attila's time."

Then commenced those wonderful campaigns of 1796-7, beginning with the victory of *Montenotte*, and ending

with the establishment of the Italian republics, and the glorious treaty of Campo Formio. In 1798 we hear of the youthful general, impatient of idleness and eager to strike England a mortal blow through her Eastern possessions, landing in Egypt, conquering the fiery Mamelukes, and firmly establishing himself in the country, though Nelson annihilated the French fleet at the mouth of the Nile; and the *second* European coalition, taking advantage of the great captain's absence, inflicted great disasters on the French arms elsewhere, and won back all his conquests in Italy. In October, 1799, he returned to Paris, where his arrival was hailed with the most unfeigned exultation.

Before this time people had become tired of the Directory. The endless internal quarrels of that body, the unscrupulous measures taken to maintain itself in authority, and, above all, its weakness and utter inability to preserve order at home, or defend the republic abroad, had rendered it an object of universal and undisguised contempt. All felt the necessity for a change, and all eyes were turned on Bonaparte as the man to effect it. Accordingly, by a well-conceived *coup d'état*, executed on the 19th Brumaire, (November 9,) the Council of Five Hundred were expelled from their seats, the Directory was abolished, and a provisional government created, consisting of three members, Bonaparte, the Abbé Sieyès, and Roger Ducos, invested with power to frame a new constitution.

This was soon forthcoming. On the 13th of next month it was proposed to the people for acceptance, and every where received with delight and confidence. This, the famous *Constitution of the Year VIII.*, had some pe-

culiar features worthy of notice. The new government was to consist of an executive and *three* chambers, a senate, a legislative body, and a tribunate. The executive was a *first consul*, who wielded the entire government and the direction of war and diplomacy in his own hands, assisted by *two* other consuls, all chosen for ten years, and indefinitely reëligible. The senate, consisting of eighty members, had the power of *nominating* out of the proper lists the members of the other bodies; even the heads of the executive could *annul* laws or acts of the government savoring of unconstitutionality, but it had no share in the digestion of laws, nor could its members exercise any active functions. The legislative body, three hundred in number, was to hear in *silence*, pro and con, three counsellors of state and three tribunes, and then vote, *without debate*, upon the propositions. The tribunate alone had the right of discussing laws publicly; but it was to vote upon them only to decide what opinion it should uphold before the legislative body. *Its vote, even when in the negative, had not the effect of preventing the enactment of a law, if the legislative body sanctioned it.*

Such was the shadow of a "Constitution" which France, after all her bloody struggles, was now only too happy to receive.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*The Consulate. — The Empire. — Its Fall. — The Restoration. — The Chambers. — The Royal Family. — Accession of Charles X. — His unwise and despotic Administration. — The Ordinances. — Revolution of July. — Accession of Louis Philippe, and why his Subjects were discontented.*

WITH the dissolution of the Council of Five Hundred the days of the revolution expired. France was now under a master. Liberty may be said to have come to an end; and yet the solid advantages conferred on the country by the new government, not to speak of the dazzling triumphs it enabled her to gain over her enemies, almost reconciled her to the loss of that precious boon for which she had been struggling for the last seven years so frantically, yet so blindly, and so far with such ill success. The victory of Marengo, due altogether to the wonderful forethought and energetic preparations of the first consul, the crowning result of a campaign of thirty days, put France in a condition to dictate peace to Europe, and enabled her chief to set about remedying the many evils under which she had been so long groaning. The exiles were recalled, the Catholic religion was restored, the energies of the country were completely revived in every department. Partly moved by gratitude and admiration, partly by horror at the frequent attempts made to assassinate Bonaparte, France soon made him consul for life, and, in 1804, by a decree of the senate, abolished the republic, changed it into an empire, declared Napoleon Bonaparte emperor, with the title of Napoleon I., and made the empire hereditary in his family. In all this the people concurred by a vote of

three millions and a half against twenty-five hundred. By this change the whole real powers of government were vested in the senate and the council of the state ; in other words, in the emperor. The legislative body continued its mute, inglorious functions. The tribunate, divided into several sections, and obliged to discuss in three separate divisions the projects transmitted to it by the legislative body, lost the little consideration that still belonged to it, and paved the way for its total suppression, which ensued soon after. The Italian republics, following the example, soon decreed themselves a kingdom, and chose the French emperor as their king. Such an alarming increase of power naturally induced Austria to join the *third* coalition now formed against the emperor ; but one of her armies very soon had to capitulate at Ulm, and the other, though assisted by the presence of the Russian emperor at the head of his best troops, was almost annihilated at Austerlitz. Peace was immediately made between France and Austria, the German empire was dissolved, and the confederation of the Rhine proclaimed. Prussia, mad enough to provoke, single handed, the undivided wrath of the conqueror, almost instantaneously received two blows, at Jena and Auerstadt, from which it took her seven years to recover.

Still, assisted by the Russians, the King of Prussia would not come to terms until the great defeat, in the following year, at Friedland, induced Alexander to sign the treaty of Tilsit, which rendered France all powerful on the continent. This was the culmination of Napoleon's glory. Himself was emperor, and his brothers were kings : Joseph, of Naples, Louis, of Holland, and Jerome, of Westphalia. Austria and Prussia were powerless, and Russia was his sincere and puissant ally.



England, to be sure, still bade him obstinate defiance. But though her insular position enabled her to defend herself with little difficulty, and though her fleets, sweeping every sea, gorged her ports with the plunder of almost every nation, — under the pretence that the friend of France must be the enemy of England, — still her hostility was excluded from the continent, and gave him very little uneasiness.

The natural consequences of this wonderful success soon followed. The emperor fancied himself irresistible, and his overriding ambition shot far ahead of his fortune. It now led him into two most unjustifiable acts — the undoubted cause of his downfall. The Bourbon monarchs of Spain having incurred his displeasure, he deposed them, and immediately filled that country with soldiers, with the intention of placing his brother on the vacant throne. Because the pope refused to declare war against the English at his orders, he imprisoned the holy father, and annexed the States of the Church to the French empire.

The invasion of Spain roused against him the fiercest foe he had yet encountered — a proud, brave, and fanatical peasantry, resolved to encounter to death this audacious attempt to make them submit to a foreign yoke. It gave England the foothold on the continent so long desired, and never afterwards lost. It kindled another sanguinary war with Austria. This terminated, indeed, in the triumph of the emperor on the field of Wagram; but it led to results ultimately more disastrous than the defeat which he there so nearly experienced. The haughty conqueror, elated with success, divorced the wife he loved, and took an Austrian princess to his throne. This step not only thenceforward alienated all sincere

republicans from his cause, but also gave such a mortal offence to the Emperor of Russia, by the slight which it flung on his sister, that it was the real cause of the war of 1812. Of his imprisonment of the saintly Pius VII. it is not too much to say, that if it did not bring an actual *curse* on his arms, it certainly seemed to do so. He never afterwards won an advantageous victory, and the issue of the gigantic expedition of 1812 defied all mortal calculation. The results are well known. Prussia sprang to arms; Austria joined the coalition; England invaded the south of France, whilst the combined power of the continent penetrated the north and east. Resistance was vain. Paris capitulated, the emperor was banished to Elba, and the brother of Louis XVI. was restored to the throne of his ancestors under the name of Louis XVIII., the young dauphin, the son of Louis XVI., having been considered the immediate successor of that unfortunate monarch.

A new constitution was immediately promulgated and accepted. This was the famous CHARTER. Of this it will be necessary to take some notice. By its provisions, liberty of conscience and worship, the freedom of the press, equality in the eye of the law, the right of being taxed only by the national representatives, and trial by jury, were established. The *Senate* had so disgusted the people by its adulations during the empire, and its tergiversations during the late reverses, that its existence could be no longer maintained, and the *Chamber of Peers* was substituted in its place. This, however, still consisted of members nominated by the king, and enjoying their seats during life; and though the powers of the *legislative body*, henceforth called the *Chamber of Deputies*, were considerably enlarged by the charter, no

person could be elected a deputy unless he paid a direct tax annually of two hundred dollars to the government, and the right of voting was limited to persons paying sixty dollars of direct taxes yearly. This restriction threw the nomination entirely into the hands of the more opulent class of society, and confined it to less than eighty thousand persons out of thirty millions.

Still the charter contained many elements of freedom. All public burdens were to be borne equally by all classes in proportion to their fortune ; all were declared equally admissible to all civil and military employment, and the conscription was abolished. Laws in general might be introduced, by the authority of the king, either in the Chamber of Peers or in that of Deputies ; but the consent of both was essential to their validity, and those relating to taxes could only be proposed, in the first instance, in the lower house. The king alone was intrusted with the power of sanctioning and promulgating the laws. The Code Napoleon was continued as the ordinary law of France ; the ancient nobility resumed their titles ; the new nobility preserved theirs ; the king was declared the sole fountain of honors in future ; the Legion of Honor was kept up ; the deputies were elected for five years ; but every year a fifth retired, and reëlections to that extent took place.\*

The natural aversion entertained by a people lately as proud and triumphant as the French, for a dynasty forced upon them by foreign bayonets, brought back Napoleon, but had to be suppressed after the disaster of Waterloo. The revolution of the "Hundred Days" being ended, Louis XVIII. returned, only slightly

\* Alison's Europe, cap. lxxvii.

modified the charter, and, by his tact, moderation, and good sense, passably succeeded in the very difficult task of governing France, boiling as that country then was with the angry passions of royalists, liberals, Napoleonists, and republicans.

Louis had no children to inherit the throne. His brother, the Count of Artois, was the heir apparent. The sons of the latter, the Duke de Berry, a prince of great and well-merited popularity, and the Duke d'Angoulême, were the remaining chief male members of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Of the younger or Orleans branch, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, afterwards king, (son of Philip, surnamed *Egalité*, from his pretended devotion to democracy,) was the chief, and it was well known that he aspired to the throne. The Duke de Berry was poniarded as he was leaving the opera on the night of the 13th February, 1820, by an assassin named Louvel, a saddler, who had sworn to exterminate the Bourbons. The consternation of the royalists at this blow to their hopes of Bourbonic stability was extreme; but it was changed into the most exuberant exultation on the 29th of the following September, when the widowed duchess gave birth to the Duke of Bourdeaux. In their fervent delight they surnamed the child the "Gift of God" and the "Child of Europe," confidently regarding him as a certain guarantee against future revolutions.

Doubts thrown on the legitimacy of the child could be traced to the Orleans party; but it is hard to believe that the murder of the father was the work of a conspiracy entered into to supplant the elder by the younger branch of the Bourbons. The assertion was often made, but nothing was ever brought forward to establish it, or

justify it. It is certain, however, that Louis Philippe, though always most careful to avoid committing himself, and publicly professing the greatest friendship for the government, neglected no means to depreciate it, honored the chief members of the opposition with his especial regard, sneered at hereditary right, was occasionally eloquent on the "liberties of the people," and affected exhaustless admiration for the "glories of the empire."

Louis XVIII. died in 1824, and was succeeded by the Count d'Artois, under the name of Charles X. The new monarch by no means possessed the conciliating powers of his brother, and was certainly inclined to be despotic. Nevertheless, on his accession, Louis Philippe made the most unqualified professions of enthusiastic attachment to every member of the royal family. This was particularly displayed at Rheims, where Charles, in imitation of the old kings of France, had himself crowned with great pomp and ceremony. The Duke of Orleans shed tears of joy, and swore *everlasting fidelity* in a loud voice. "It was quite worth while," says an historian, "to see Louis Philippe, at the royal banquet, putting his hand to his heart at every toast to the king, madame, and the Duke d'Angouleme. He himself would at dinner often shout, '*Vive le Roi!*' as if moved by a powerful feeling which could not wait for the moment of etiquette." \*

Charles X. sought to rule the country more after the manner of the seventeenth century than of the nineteenth. He thought himself on solid land, whilst the surface of society was still unsettled and heaving after

the late tremendous eruption. He had the utmost horror for "liberal ideas," which, indeed, considering his birth and life, is not surprising. But what was worse, he had not the art of judicious compliance, of granting little to preserve much, and, most indiscreetly misinterpreting the lesson taught by the yielding disposition of the unfortunate Louis XVI., he prided himself on his inflexibility.

On the other hand, it must be confessed, France is hard to govern, and revolutions are accomplished there with wonderful facility. Perhaps the best theory to account for their frequent occurrence is to attribute them to the omnipotent authority wielded by Paris over the provinces, and the excitable temperament of the Parisian populace. The advantages of centralized power may be great, but its evils are much greater. If Paris could be cut up into pieces this moment, and fairly distributed through the length and breadth of the land, there might be some hope of permanent tranquillity of government, independent of the political cunning of one ruler, the prudent management of another, or the stern, relentless ability of a third.

Sufficient cause, however, was hardly wanting for the revolution of 1830. In the first place, France could never forget that the Bourbons had been unceremoniously thrust upon her by triumphant and insolent foreign armies, and the humiliating thought rankled in her heart, disposing her to look upon her rulers with no friendly eye. Then the charter, with which the people at first seem to have been rather satisfied, did not, as is well known, take the form of a *compact*, but pretended to be, as the name imported, a *grant*, proceeding from the king's independent will and pleasure. As long as this

was looked on as a matter of form, it was hardly objected to; but in course of time, when ministers seemed determined on interpreting it literally, and to claim that what the king had granted he could revoke, universal indignation seized the people at this tyrannical invasion of their undoubted liberties. Bitter animosity, too, still existed between the different parties that distracted the country. The royalists, though furiously irritated against the liberals or revolutionary party, had been successfully kept in control by Louis XVIII., who often offended his own partisans by shielding their opponents from their violence. But in 1827, by death, and the natural operation of the electoral laws, the royalist party, though perpetuated and strongly supported by the court, fell into a decided minority, and yet, instead of yielding with good grace to the force of circumstances, sought to maintain its ascendancy by resorting to illegal means.

Then the press was mercilessly shackled; every memorial of the revolution was erased; even the *tricolor*, the national flag, which had blazed triumphantly over so many battle fields, was rigidly proscribed. In short, the work of counter revolution was plied most perseveringly, but most imprudently.

In 1829 the appointment of Polignac, the most unpopular man in the country, at the head of a new cabinet, excited the indignation of France to the utmost. After a most stormy session, the "*Impossible Ministry*," as it was called, from the difficulty it had in maintaining itself, was at last violently assailed on the 2d of March, 1830, and a very hostile address to the king on the subject was carried in the Chamber of Deputies, by a majority of forty. At this the king first prorogued the

houses, and then dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, appointing the 23d of June and the 3d of July for the election of the members of a new chamber. But the new elections, instead of diminishing the majority of the opposition, more than doubled it; and means having been taken to ascertain this fact beyond doubt, the king and his ministers came to the insane resolution of setting the will of the country at open defiance.

The election returns being all given in by the 21st of July, the famous *ordinances* were at once prepared. They were signed on the 25th, and published in the *Moniteur* on Monday, the 26th. No wonder that they produced a sensation. They were six in number.

The first annihilated the liberty of the press at one blow, declaring that no journal should thenceforth appear in Paris, or in the departments, without the royal permission expressly granted. The second dissolved the new Chamber of Deputies before they had met, thereby annulling the recent election. The third abrogated the existing law of election itself, reducing the number of members from four hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty-eight, sweeping off three fourths of the former constituency, abolishing vote by ballot — in a word, almost extinguishing all popular influence in the representative system.

The remaining three ordinances were of minor importance, but equally as despotic and distasteful. The astonishment and indignation of the Parisians may be imagined. The journalists, first struck at, were the first to meet together for self-defence. They immediately published a declaration, denying the legality of the ordinances, and proclaiming their intention to publish their papers as usual. "Obedience," said they, "now ceases



to be a duty." The city was in the greatest commotion all day ; still the government, apprehending nothing serious, had taken no means whatever to repress a disturbance. On Tuesday many printing offices were visited, and the presses broken ; but the papers, full of the most inflammatory language, were issued clandestinely, and distributed gratuitously among the people. Many of the members recently elected, having arrived in Paris, now assembled and protested unanimously against the ordinances. The manufacturers closed their shops and dismissed their hands, the banks refused to discount, the stores were shut up, and the printers of Paris, numbering at least thirty thousand, began to parade the streets, counselling resistance, and shouting, "*Vive la Charte.*" "*A bas les Ministres !*"

Crowds increase ; the police, endeavoring to disperse them, are roughly handled. The troops are called out. Shots are fired, and men are slain. Omnibuses are upset, and barricades erected. Desperate fighting commences, and for three days rages over all the city. On the third day the king's troops are defeated at all points ; the Tuileries are stormed, and the king himself, with his royal family, flies to Rambouillet. A provisional government is organized. Charles, still full of confidence in the loyalty of Louis Philippe, writes him a letter announcing his abdication in favor of his young grandson, the Duke of Bourdeaux. The abdication is accepted, but the Duke of Orleans is appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom ; and shortly after, upon signing and swearing to the *Constitutional Charter*, he is saluted Louis Philippe I., King of the French. The deposed monarch and his family quit the kingdom slowly, and without being disturbed. Such was the "glorious"

revolution of July. The Constitutional Charter was nothing but the old Charter of Louis XVIII., with a few modifications, the principal of which was the abolition of the hereditary peerage. But little did any modification trouble the astute Louis Philippe, if it came in his way. The intense selfishness that had instigated him to snap at the crown, almost before it had fallen from the brow of his duped friend and too confiding benefactor, was the main spring of every action in his reign. This is not the place, however, to canvass the various objectionable acts of Louis Philippe's government. One sentence, taken from an article in the *North American Review* for July, 1848, says as much as we have space for on this subject. "During a reign in which his real authority and influence were immense, he did little for his country, little for the moral and intellectual elevation of his people, and nothing for the gradual improvement of the political institutions of his kingdom, because his time and attention were absorbed in seeking splendid foreign alliances for his children, and in manœuvring to maintain a supple majority in the Chambers, and to keep those ministers at the head of affairs, who would second most heartily his private designs."

The people became so discontented as to wish openly never to have had a revolution. Not that he was without admirers. What names have we heard more liberally bestowed than the "Citizen King," the "Napoleon of Peace"? But France was not to be deceived by empty words. In consequence of his wily system of corruption, the Chamber of Deputies had become a body of the most abject and fawning slaves. The country was furious at such a state of things, but could do nothing. In spite of all the exertions of every shade of the

opposition, the electoral system was so much under official influence, that in September, 1846, two hundred and eighty-six ministerial candidates were elected, to one hundred and seventy-three of the opposition! Taxes went on increasing every year, apparently only for the purpose of increasing the king's private fortune, already enormous. As *La Presse* said, "Ministers could not incur useful expenses, because useless expenses they had not the courage to suppress." Still not a measure, not a word of conciliation from the government. It was time to act. Of "monster meetings" the law would not allow, but there was nothing to prohibit monster banquets. In a short time these political festivities were held in every district in France. Though multitudinously attended, the king's health was always studiously omitted in the list of toasts.

In this imperfect *resumé* of the changes through which the French government had passed, from the meeting of the States General in 1789 to the eve of the fall of Louis Philippe in 1848, we have trespassed too much on the time of many of our readers, who, we fear, must have thought the last chapters tedious and irrelevant. But it is almost unnecessary to say that it was not for learned students of history that they were intended. We desire to make our narrative, such as it is, at least clear and comprehensible to *all*. Such a digression, however, shall not occur again; and, now the ground being cleared, we shall glance at the events that recalled Louis Napoleon so rapidly from his exile in England.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Parties in France. — The Ministers. — Contest in the Chamber. — Government Proclamation suppressing the Banquet. — Threatening State of the City in consequence. — National Guards begin to fraternize with the People. — Change of Ministry. — Insurrection still threatening.*

THESE banquets were the real causes of the revolution of 1848. They had not indeed been so intended; they had been commenced with the idea of recruiting forces for Thiers and Barrot, the leaders of the two great parties composing the opposition; but by the excitement which they caused, and the confidence they inspired, they recruited forces for the revolution. The wishes of the leaders had been limited to a change of ministry, effected by the pressure of the masses; but passion soon overleaped the bounds calculated by politicians, and the people were already contemplating a change of government. Then behind the main body of the people were many secret sects and factions who dreamed of the entire overthrow of the social compact.

These great parties divided the country — the republican, the legitimist, and the liberal or constitutional. Of the moderate republicans, the *National*, a journal of great ability, edited by Marrast, was the representative; the views of the extreme and uncompromising section of the party were reflected by the *Reforme*, edited by Flocon, and supported by the pens of Ledru Rollin and other republican deputies, who were too few in number to attract any attention in the Chamber. The legitimists adored the eldest branch of the Bourbons as a dogma, and abhorred the younger as a profanation of

monarchy: their hatred towards the reigning dynasty, well expressed in the columns of the *Gazette de France*, edited by Genoude, had a powerful advocate in the Chamber in the person of Berryer, the orator, with whose speech on the trial of Louis Napoleon our readers are already acquainted. The rest of the nation — its great majority — composed the liberal and constitutional party, of the politically active portion of which the fiery and fearless *La Presse* was perhaps the best exponent, and Odillon Barrot the honest and able orator.

For seventeen years Louis Philippe had been successfully baffling the republicans, circumventing the legitimists, and manœuvring between the different shades of the constitutional party, until at last he had surrounded himself with every external appearance of abiding strength — devoted ministers, supple Chambers, acquiescent public functionaries, electors sold to his fortunes, and, what seemed most reliable of all, an eminent degree of prosperity and material well-being spread throughout the country. Resistance to his government seemed utterly futile. Still the heart of the nation did not go with him, and as Lamartine says, there was something like remorse in her prosperity, that destroyed her peace.

Louis Philippe appears to have had little apprehension of the storm that was soon to hurl him from his throne. His ministers, Duchatel and Guizot, seemed equally blinded. Duchatel, a practical man of business, had a great confidence in his skilful management of the different parties of the Senate, and in his wise regulation of the votes under his control. Guizot, a "philosopher," a "scholar," a "non-enthusiast," possessed the most unbounded self-reliance; and though nobody had

the words "liberty," "equality," more frequently on his lips, he held the "vulgar" in the utmost contempt.

On the opening of the Chambers in December, 1847, in order that the undoubted majority supporting the government might have an opportunity to display itself to advantage, and thus effectually frown down the menaces of the opposition, the king in his speech characterized the members of both houses that had attended the banquets as hostile to royalty, and blind to results. His words were, "Amidst the agitation which *hostile* and *blind* passions foment, a conviction animates and supports me, which is, that we possess in the constitutional monarchy, in the union of the great powers of the state, sure means of overcoming all those obstacles, and of satisfying all interests, moral and material."

These severe, if not imprudent expressions excited an angry debate. Thiers, the mouthpiece of the opposition, led off; Odillon Barrot showed equal vehemence; and Ledru Rollin delivered a speech on the occasion which thenceforth placed him in the first rank of the orators of the opposition.

The result was, that by way of maintaining their political rights of assemblage and public expression of thought, the senators and deputies, who felt themselves hurt by the allusion, determined to attend the great banquet to be given by the twelfth *arrondissement* (district) of Paris, on the 20th of February, 1848.

This course ministers did not care to oppose: they intended only to protest against the legality of the banquet, to send a commissary of police there to prove the fact of attendance, and then to bring the question for judgment to the tribunals. Some antiquated law of 1790, declaring such assemblies illegal, was still in exist-

ence ; but the opposition was unanimous in accepting the contest on this ground, and every preparation was made for carrying out this grand pacific demonstration. All Paris looked forward with impatience for the 20th, and it was already regarded as a holiday meriting especial observance.

But by the 20th all the arrangements were not completed, and the banquet was deferred to Tuesday, the 22d. So far both the contending parties had kept within reasonable limits. But in the programme that appeared on Monday, announcing the regulations, the opposition invited the deputies, about two hundred, to assemble in the Place de la Madeleine between eleven and twelve o'clock on that day, and the other guests — magistrates, members of councils general, provincial deputations from schools of law and medicine, colleges, &c. — in all about fifteen hundred in number, to meet in the Place de la Concorde, from both of which localities the whole congregated assemblage was to march off in procession to the place appointed for the general muster. Ten thousand National Guards also, (an institution somewhat resembling our militia,) in uniform, but unarmed, were to line the route in double file along the avenue leading to the Arc de Triomphe, at the farther end of the Champs Elysées. This invitation of the National Guards was considered to be a most happy idea, as it was certain that the presence of that body would effectually prevent a collision between the military and the people.

But though, among the regulations agreed to by the committee, it was publicly announced that only one toast would be given, namely, "Reform and the Right of Meeting," introduced in a short speech by Odillon

Barrot, and that all the guests, as well as the National Guards, were then to separate and proceed to their respective homes, such gigantic preparations so alarmed the government that it retracted its concessions, and declared its determination to put down the demonstration by force.

This resolution, however, seems to have been adopted only at the last moment ; for it was late on Monday evening when the following proclamation was posted up in different parts of Paris: "Parisians: The government had interdicted the banquet of the 12th *arrondissement*. It kept within its right in doing this, being authorized by the letter and spirit of the law. Nevertheless, in consequence of the discussion which took place in the Chamber on this subject, thinking that the opposition was acting in good faith, it resolved to afford the opportunity of submitting the question of the legality of banquets to the appreciation of the tribunals and the High Court of Cassation. To do this, it had resolved to authorize for to-morrow the entrance into the banquet room ; hoping that the persons present at the manifestation would have the wisdom to retire at the first summons. But, by the manifesto published this morning, calling the public to a demonstration, convoking the National Guards, assigning them a place ranked by the legions, and ranging them in line, a government is raised in opposition to the real government, usurps the public power, and openly violates the charter. These are the acts which the government cannot tolerate. In consequence, the banquet of the 12th *arrondissement* shall not take place. Parisians, remain deaf to every excitement to disorder. Do not, by tumultuous assemblages, afford grounds for a repression which the government would deplore."



Besides this proclamation, another to the same effect was issued by the prefect of police, and an order of the day was sent by General Jacqueminot, commander-in-chief of the National Guards, prohibiting their attendance at the banquet. In this emergency, Odillon Barrot immediately convoked the opposition at his own house for deliberation ; there it was agreed to yield to the violent resolution of the government, and that the proposed banquet should not take place. But it was also determined to impeach the ministry.

Monday night passed away in a silence that was only slightly disturbed by the tread of various bodies of troops, marching from Vincennes and other near localities into the heart of the city. The total garrison in possession of Paris amounted, it was said, to 100,000 men.

Tuesday morning did not threaten any thing ominous. The streets, indeed, were filled with artisans and the working classes generally, and crowds streamed in from the suburbs, and either not aware of the counter orders issued the previous evening, or unwilling to forego their *fête*, all seemed determined to enjoy the holiday.

About twelve o'clock, however, the students, many of them mere boys, assembled in groups from various quarters of the city, and gathering numbers and courage as they rolled along, chanting the *Marseillaise*, directed their course to the Place de la Madeleine, the spot from which the deputies had been invited to start for the intended banquet. The people joined in with the hymn, which was occasionally varied with loud cries of "*Down with Guizot.*" The column increased, crossed the Place de la Concorde, passed the Pont Royal, forced the palisades of the Chamber of Deputies ; but being easily and

unresistingly dispersed by a regiment of dragoons, they spread, without a leader or a specific object, into the garden, of the palace, and all along the quays. The infantry soon arrived; the artillery took its station around the palace, and defended the bridge.

A military band was playing as the deputies arrived and took their places in the hall. The attendance was not great. Odillon Barrot entered about three o'clock, accompanied by his friends, one of whom, going up to the president's desk, laid upon it a paper containing the articles of the indictment against the ministry. M. Guizot at once quitted his place, went up to the desk, perused the accusation, and smiled disdainfully. He was confident in the support of his majority within the chamber, and in that of his sovereign and a powerful army without. The council soon dispersed, after agreeing that the impeachment question was to be brought up on Thursday.

Very little more was done on Tuesday publicly. From subsequent events, however, we must conclude that all this day and the following night the secret societies must have been hard at work concocting their plans; nor could the insurrectionary committees have been idle in the mean time at the journal offices. Not but that even on Tuesday some fighting was going on. In different parts of the city, particularly in that quarter inhabited by the poor, between Rue St. Denis and Rue St. Martin, the populace, though unarmed, began to erect barricades in the streets by tearing up the pavement, and seizing carts and omnibuses. These hasty works, however, were soon carried by the Municipal Guards (Paris policemen) and the troops, yet at some of them there was hard fighting. Several gunsmiths' shops were

broken into and plundered. Late in the evening various arrests were made, and in resisting an attempt to release the prisoners from custody, a Municipal Guard was killed, while one of the insurgents lost his life at the same time.

Ultimately the Municipal Guards succeeded in dispersing the people and retaining possession of their prisoners. All parts of the capital were occupied by the troops, who remained under arms throughout the whole of Tuesday night, demolishing, in the mean time, the numberless barricades which the insurgents had raised, so that they were totally destroyed by the morning.

But still the latter were not to be put down or intimidated. On the contrary, they were found on Wednesday morning with increased activity and augmented numbers, many of them supplied with arms, and all reconstructing barricades. To prevent, if possible, effusion of blood, the National Guard was called out, but obeyed the summons very leisurely.

From an early hour a great agitation prevailed in the city. Crowds, full of curiosity, streamed towards the Champs Elysées. By nine o'clock gatherings had been formed along the whole line of the Boulevards.\* During the whole day the weather was frightful; the air was cold, and the rain fell in torrents. The infantry and cavalry, scattered around in all directions, in vain exhausted themselves in dispersing the crowds and taking possession of the barricades. Crowds assemble and

\* The Boulevards, on the site of the ancient ramparts that surrounded Paris, are now wide streets lined with trees, and containing the finest hotels, stores, theatres, &c., in the city. They always present a very animated appearance, and here especially can Parisian life be viewed in all its aspects.

barricades arise as soon as the troops quit one spot to go elsewhere. An immense mob, crying, "*Down with Guizot!*" "*Long live Reform!*" moved towards the Place des Petits Pères, where the third legion of the National Guards was stationed. A squadron of cuirassiers hastens to charge this formidable assemblage; but the National Guards, ranging themselves before the insurgents, present their bayonets to the cuirassiers. The latter, naturally unwilling to provoke a contest with armed and resolute citizens, retire, on receiving the formal promise of the National Guard to have the place cleared. A similar scene took place in the Rue Lepelletier. In the afternoon a deputation of the eighth legion presented a petition to General Jacqueminot, demanding the dismissal of the ministry. The National Guard was clearly taking part in the revolution.

The previous evening, in a conversation with Marshal Trézel, the king had expressed himself to be very uneasy at the acts of violence committed by the people, and full of fear that such outrages could not be repressed without a sanguinary battle. Though the marshal scouted the idea of any serious danger, the king would not be satisfied until he had learned from the commander-in-chief of the National Guards what reliance could be placed on the officers and men under his command. Accordingly the marshal went to General Jacqueminot's house, found him in bed and unwell, but still explained the object of his visit. The general terminated a half hour's conversation with these words: "Tell the king that out of the three hundred and eighty-four companies of the National Guard of Paris, six or seven are badly disposed, but that all the others are sincerely attached to the monarchy."

"Six or seven bad!" said Louis Philippe, on hearing the report. "O, sixteen or seventeen would be nearer the truth!"

Louis Philippe was little less mistaken than the commander-in-chief.

This sense of fancied security was soon to be dispelled. About two o'clock, M. Duchatel hastened to inform Louis Philippe that the third legion of the National Guard had declared in favor of the insurrection, and that affairs were every moment assuming a graver aspect. The king seemed troubled; he sent for the queen, who soon appeared, accompanied by his youngest son, the Duke de Montpensier.

"Ministers," said the queen, "are, I doubt not, devoted to the king as well as to France. I appeal to their devotion! Their presence in the cabinet is dangerous to the monarchy. I invite them to resign."

The king objected; but the queen continued to insist, and the Duke de Montpensier strongly supported her advice. Guizot was at the chamber; he was sent for, and soon appeared. The king, queen, Duke de Montpensier, MM. Guizot and Duchatel were now together. The king expressed deep regret at being obliged to separate from his ministers; he even added that he preferred abdicating.

"What do you say, *mon ami*?" interrupted the queen; "you owe all your days to France; you cannot abdicate."

Guizot protested against the idea of the cabinet resigning at such a moment; but the king said the safety of France required the sacrifice of his ministry. The queen and the Duke de Montpensier supported this declaration of the king. From this moment it was decided

to call M. Molé to the head of the cabinet. The Duke de Montpensier proposed not to stop there. "We might as well extricate ourselves out of the difficulty altogether," said he, "by sending immediately to the Chamber of Deputies a project for electoral reform, and another for parliamentary reform."

But the Count Duchatel replied with firmness, "I will never be the bearer of such concessions." \*

Guizot returned immediately to the Chamber, where he found M. Vavin, a deputy of Paris, indulging in strong expressions against the ministry, and bringing them to an account for the present state of things. To his questions Guizot contented himself by replying that the king had just sent for M. Molé, to charge him with the reconstruction of a cabinet. At this intelligence, unbounded dismay fell upon the ministerial majority, whilst the Left gave vent to their joy in loud and repeated cheers.

Orderly officers, the king's aides-de-camp, and the staff officers of the National Guard, immediately hastened through Paris to announce the formation of a new ministry. General Friant declared every where, in a loud voice, that the troops of the line had received orders to return to their barracks, and that not a gunshot more was to be fired.

The news was received with every demonstration of joy. Nothing was more common than to see citizens and National Guards embracing each other in the streets, congratulating themselves on the recovery of their rights. The houses were illuminated as on a day of general triumph. The *cafés* and other great establishments on

\* *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris, 5ième volume.*

the Boulevards seemed on fire from their brilliant display of gas light.

In the mean time the king and M. Molé, in a recess of one of the windows of the Tuileries, were discussing the conditions and the programme of a new cabinet, but succeeded so little in coming to an understanding, that a new interview was judged necessary. There seemed to be no necessity for precipitation.

The aides-de-camp and orderly officers, who had been ordered to proclaim the fall of the ministry, now returned to the Tuileries, happy to announce to the king that his resolution had given general satisfaction, and that every thing was quiet. At this news the Duchess of Orleans,\* seeing the windows every where illuminated, exclaimed, with tears of joy as she embraced her son, the Count of Paris, "Poor child! your crown has indeed been compromised; but now Heaven has restored it."

The poor mother was not the only one completely deceived by the fallacious aspect of affairs. At that very moment an explosion took place, which, it is hardly too much to say, shattered her child's crown to pieces, and cast away the fragments forever.

The secret societies, the republicans, and the extreme section of the journalists, had not been engaged so long at hard work for nothing. Was all this trouble and excitement to end only in a simple change of ministers, and the reëstablishment of monarchy on a solid basis?

Let Lamartine describe the next scene in his own peculiar, graphic style.

\* The widow of the Duke of Orleans, the eldest son of Louis Philippe, a most popular prince, whose premature death, by a fall out of his carriage, in 1842, was a great blow to the Orleans dynasty. The next son, the Duke de Nemours, who was to be regent in case Louis Philippe died during the minority of the Count of Paris, was by no means popular.

"The difference between these two revolutionary classes was, that the first was inspired by the hatred of royalty, the second by the progress of the species. Republicanism and equality were the objects of the one ; social renovation and fraternity those of the other.

"About six o'clock in the evening, a little column of republicans, of the younger trading population, issued from the Rue Lepelletier, and formed a silent group before the door of the *National* newspaper, as though it were the appointed place of rendezvous. In all our revolutions, counsel is kept, the word of command is given, and the impulse is directed at the office of a journal. These are the *comitia* of public opinion, the movable tribunes of the people. A long conference took place between the republicans within and the republicans without. Expressions, brief but energetic, were interchanged through the low and barred window of the porter's lodge. The group, inspired with the flame they were about to spread, advanced with cries of 'Reform.' 'Down with the ministers !' 'To the Boulevard !'

"Scarcely had it quitted the office of the *National* when another column — the workmen and popular partisans — presented itself at the same place, and halted at the command of their leader. They seem to have been expected ; a clapping of hands was heard within the house ; a young man of slight stature, with a fiery eye, with lips agitated by enthusiasm, and hair dishevelled by the breath of inspiration, mounted the inner wall of the window, and harangued the assembly. The spectators saw but gestures, and heard but the sound of a voice and some thrilling expressions, emphasized by lips of a southern contour. \* \* \* It was Marrast, the editor, who by turns delighted as a wit, and hurled in



thunder the sarcasms and indignation of the republican opposition.

"A feeling correspondent to this address soon showed itself in the impatient expression, the attitudes, and inarticulate murmurs of this martial group; they retired, and united with the former body, which seemed to direct their movements. Two other bodies, in similar silence, advanced at the same instant, like a detached corps, towards a position which had been previously agreed upon. The one seemed to come from the populous and ever-disturbed region of the Boulevard de la Bastille. The other came from the centre of Paris, having formed its nucleus in the office of the *Reforme* journal. • • The latter had arms beneath their clothes, and marched like a troop inured to war and grown old amidst firing.

"The column of the Boulevard de la Bastille was more numerous, but less compact and adult. It was attended by a number of women and ragged children, the migrating refuse of the suburbs.

"A man of about forty years of age, tall, thin, with hair curled and falling on his shoulders, dressed in a white frock, well worn and stained with dirt, marched with a military step at their head. His arms were folded over his chest, his head slightly bent forward, with the air of one who was about to face bullets deliberately, and to brave death with exultation. In the eyes of this man, well known by the multitude, was concentrated all the fire of the revolution; his physiognomy was the living expression of the defiance of opposing force; his lips, incessantly agitated as if by a mental harangue, were pale and trembling.

"We are told that his name was Lagrange.

"In the neighborhood of the Café Tortoni, the ren-

dezzous of idlers, these bodies united their momentum. They cleared a way through the inquisitive and idle throng, which undulated with the natural wane of the multitudes to the great thoroughfare of the Boulevards. A crowd of inoffensive people followed mechanically in the train of this silent column. A small detachment, composed of workmen armed with sabres and pikes, separated from the principal body at the top of the Rue de Choiseul, and silently took possession of that street. The object of this detachment appeared to be to flank the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, (Guizot's residence,) which was occupied by troops, while the head of the column presented itself in front. An unknown system of operation evidently combined and controlled these movements. The unanimous whisper of a revolution *raises* the masses. None but *conspirators* can with such precision *govern* its chances and guide its evolutions.

“In the midst of the smoke of torches, a red flag waved over the first rank of the multitude. They continued to advance, multiplying in their progress. A misgiving curiosity was attracted to this cloud of men, who seemed to carry in their midst the mystery of the day. In front of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, a battalion of the line, drawn up in battle array, with loaded arms, and their commander at their head, extended across the Boulevard, obstructing the passage. Before this hedge of bayonets the column suddenly halts. The flapping of the flag and the flash of the torches frightened the horse of the commander; recoiling in terror on his haunches, he plunged into the battalion, which opened to receive its chief. In the confusion of the moment the report of a musket was heard. Did it come, as was said, from some concealed and disaffected

hand, fired on the people by one of their own agitators, to revive by the sight of blood the ardor of a struggle which was subsiding? Did it come from the hand of one of the insurgents, directed against the troops? or rather, which is more probable, did it accidentally arise from the shock of some loaded musket, or from the hand of one of the soldiers, who supposed that his commander was wounded when he saw his horse take fright? This no man knows. Whether by crime or by accident, this explosion created a revolution."

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Revolution of 1848 continued.—Massacre before Guizot's Residence.—Measures of the Republicans.—Louis Philippe calls on Thiers to form a Ministry.—Storming of the Palais Royal and Massacre of the Municipal Guards.—Abdication of the King.—Regency of the Duchess of Orleans rejected in the Chamber of Deputies, and a Republic proclaimed.—The new Government takes Possession of the Hotel de Ville, and tries to restore Order.*

WE resume Lamartine's vivid description of the events of the night of Wednesday, February 23, 1848.

The shot had come from an unknown hand.

"The soldiers, considering themselves attacked, presented their guns. The whole line instantaneously fired. The discharge, reverberated by lofty houses and by the enclosed streets of the centre of Paris, throws the whole Boulevard into excitement. The column of the people of the Faubourgs falls decimated by the balls. The

cries of mental agony and the groans of the wounded mingle with the affrighted shouts of those who had followed from curiosity, and of flying women and children. They rush into the adjoining houses, into the lower streets, and beneath the archways. By the light of torches, half extinguished in the blood upon the pavement, heaps of dead bodies are perceived strewing the thoroughfare in all directions. The terrified multitude, supposing themselves pursued, fly with cries of vengeance to the Rue Laffitte, leaving between themselves and the battalions an empty space in silence and darkness.

“The multitude supposed that they had been treacherously fired upon in the midst of a demonstration of joy and of harmony, occasioned by a change of ministry. They turned their rage against ministers, who were so perfidious as to avenge their fall by torrents of blood, and against a king obstinate enough to fire on that very people who had crowned him at the sacrifice of their very lives, in 1830. The soldiers, on their part, were thrown into consternation by this undesigned massacre. No one had given orders to fire; nothing had been heard but the word of command to fix bayonets, to resist the fire expected from this sudden movement of the people. Darkness, confusion, chance, and precipitation had done the deed. The footing of the soldiery was deluged with blood; the wounded dragged themselves along to die at the feet of the murderers. Tears of despair flowed from the eyes of the general. The officers dropped the points of their swords upon the pavement, deploring this unintentional crime. They foresaw the necessary effect of this involuntary murder of the people upon the mind of the population of Paris.

“Meanwhile the news spread, with a rapidity equal to that of the firing, through the whole line of the Boulevards, and through one half of Paris. The body which had marched from the Faubourg, scattered and thrown into confusion for a moment, soon regained their order, and began to collect their dead. *Large wagons, perfectly prepared, were found at hand, even at this advanced hour of night, as if they had been previously obtained in order to exhibit through Paris these lifeless bodies, the mere sight of which was destined to rekindle the fury of the people.* They collect the corpses and arrange them on wagons, with their arms hanging over the side, with their wounds exposed and their blood dripping on the wheels. They carry them by torch light before the office of the *National*, as the symbol of approaching vengeance exhibited in the cradle of the republic.

“After a mournful pause, the procession takes its way to the Rue Montmartre, and halts before the office of the *Reforme* paper — a new appeal to the irreconcilable hatred existing between the monarchy and the republic. Deep and confused cries, as if smothered by indignation and by the sobs of the procession, rise to the windows of the houses. A man, standing upon the carriage with his feet bathed in blood, raises from time to time from the lifeless heap the corpse of a woman, exhibits it to the multitude, and lays it again in its bloody bed. At this sight the pity of the bystanders assumes the character of fury, and they rush to their houses to arm. The streets become empty. A close array of men, armed with muskets, parades around, and enters the gloomy lanes of the densely-populated centre of Paris. In the direction of the Place St. Martin, they rap at every door

in succession, to summon new combatants to vengeance. At the spectacle of these victims, exhibited to reproach royalty, these districts arise, rush where they are summoned by the bells, sound the tocsin, unpave the streets, and raise and multiply barricades. From time to time the noise of firing echoes, and forbids sleep to assuage the anxiety and indignation of the capital. Peals from church to church carry even to the ears of the king, at the Tuileries, those sounds which were the feverish precursors of to-morrow's insurrection."\*

In all this it is easy to see that the leaders of the secret societies had now taken the revolution in their own hands, and were fully determined to make the most of the frightful act, so opportunely committed by the king's troops.

Before the fatal discharge had been fired, and whilst the procession was still advancing, a functionary, high in office, enjoying the confidence of Guizot, ran with all his speed to the Ministry of the Interior, where Guizot, Duchatel, and De Salvandy were assembled. He found them congratulating themselves on the favorable state of things at the close of the day, and disposed to disregard altogether his emotion and his language. "You are badly informed," they exclaimed; "our soldiers seek for the insurrection every where, but it cannot be found."

"You know nothing, then, of what is passing? I tell you the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the battalion set before it are being attacked this very moment."

The brother of Duchatel soon entered, and announced that the battalion had fired on the people, and strewed

\* *Histoire de la Revolution Française de 1848, par Lamartine. Livre 2ième.*

the pavement with the dead and dying. "The Hotel of Foreign Affairs," he added, "is no doubt pillaged; the insurrection will assume to-night, and especially to-morrow, an alarming importance." This intelligence, soon confirmed by new informants, threw the dismissed, but not replaced, ministers into fresh perplexity.

They soon decided, however, that Marshal Bugeaud should be immediately invested with the chief command of the army of Paris and of the National Guard. They repaired at once to the Tuileries, where they found Louis Philippe seated in his cabinet, surrounded by many important personages — amongst others the Duke de Montpensier. The nomination of the marshal was vehemently combated by many present, especially by the young duke; but Duchatel strongly and ably insisting on the measure, it received the approbation of the king.

The marshal proceeded at once to head quarters, accompanied by the Duke de Nemours and Duchatel. He inspected the troops that he found assembled on the Place du Carrousel.

"Well, marshal," said the duke, after the inspection, "what do you think of to-morrow?"

"Monseigneur, it will be rough, but it will be ours. I have never yet been beaten, and I am not going to commence to-morrow. Certainly, it would be better not to have lost so much time; but no matter; I will answer for the result if I am left alone. It must not be imagined that I can manage without bloodshed. Perhaps there will be much, for I begin with cannon. But don't be uneasy; to-morrow evening the authority of the king and of the law shall be reëstablished, and the factious shall have received a good lesson." The mar-

shal pronounced these words with a calm, energetic air; and there is no doubt that, had he been left in command, notwithstanding his unpopularity, the result would have been very different.

In the mean time the king was waiting for M. Molé; but M. Molé, discouraged by the previous conversation, did not make his appearance. The king then sent for Thiers. Thiers came and took on himself the formation of a ministry, provided Odillon Barrot should be a member of it, and also that Bugeaud should be superseded in his command. The king, whose want of presence of mind seems incredible, consented to every thing. Thiers then, taking a pen, wrote out the following proclamation, which appeared in some of the papers next day, announcing the formation of a new cabinet:—

“PARIS, *February 24, 1848.*

“*Citizens of Paris:* Orders are given every where to cease firing.

“We have just received the commands of the king to form a ministry.

“The Chamber is to be dissolved. An appeal is made to the country.

“General Lamoricière is appointed commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris.

“MM. Thiers, Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne, are ministers.

“Signed :

“A. THIERS,

“ODILLON BARROT,

“GENERAL LAMORICIERE,

“DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE.

“LIBERTY, ORDER, AND REFORM.”



M. Thiers seemed quite confident that the sight of this proclamation would put an end to all further disturbance, and soon retired. About four o'clock in the morning the king withdrew to his bed chamber, fully as confident of the efficacy of the new measures as M. Thiers.

But what a change had taken place in affairs by eleven o'clock, when he came down, with a smiling countenance and in a negligent dress, to the dining room, to partake of the family breakfast!

Then he learns that all Paris is in insurrection; that his troops, disgusted at the contradictory orders which they had received, were doing little or nothing in the way of resistance; that the National Guard was openly fraternizing with the insurgents; that the Thiers proclamations were torn down or utterly disregarded; that his Palais Royal had been taken and plundered by the populace; and that it was their shouts he now heard ringing loudly and menacingly, only a few squares off.

Astounded at such intelligence, Louis Philippe retires to his chamber, puts on his uniform of the National Guard, mounts his horse, and rides through the Place du Carrousel, to review the troops drawn up there. The infantry and the cavalry still receive him with shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" but two battalions of the National Guard discourage and bewilder him with cries of "*Vive la Reforme!*" A neighboring building, the *Chateau d'Eau*, is assailed by a furious mob; the gates and windows are strong, and the defenders resolute; many a shouting revolutionist breathes his last on the pavement. But the workmen of Paris, the bravest, or the most reckless, perhaps, in the world, become but more daring; they drag up carriages to the gates; they

heap fagôts around ; fire is set to the pile, and the whole face of the *Chateau d'Eau* is enveloped in flames. The gates soon yield, but the mob need not burst in ; fire and smoke have silenced forever the fifty faithful Municipal Guards that had so bravely defended their post.

And this tragedy took place within a few yards of large bodies of troops, motionless, paralyzed, as it were, to insensibility, under the orders of commanding officers whom the unfortunate king and the new ministry, infatuated as the old, had forbidden to fight. They were all assembled together in the cabinet, disputing about trifling matters, when a prolonged firing burst forth at the extremity of the palace, near the Place du Carrousel. At this moment the door of the cabinet opened, and Emile Girardin, editor of *La Presse*, rushed in to the king.

In a few respectful words he informed Louis Philippe that the time for hunting after names to form a cabinet was passed ; that the crisis was sweeping away the throne and its counsels together.

“What is to be done?” asked the king.

“Sire,” answered Girardin, “within an hour, perhaps, there shall be no such thing as monarchy in France. At present the crisis admits of no third alternative. The king *must* abdicate, or the monarchy *shall* abdicate. Such is the dilemma.”

Saying this, he presented to the king a copy of a proclamation which he had written beforehand, and had already sent to the press. It contained only four lines, and announced —

The abdication of the king.

The regency of the Duchess of Orleans.

The dissolution of the Chamber.

General amnesty.

The king hesitated ; but a new explosion of firearms was heard close at hand, and the Duke de Montpensier, who apparently wished his father to do something, implored him to complete the sacrifice. Louis Philippe at last wrote the following words :—

“ I abdicate in favor of my grandson, the Count of Paris, and I trust that he will be more fortunate than I.”

This proclamation made no provision for the regency, and either purposely or accidentally was without a signature. Consequently it had no effect whatever on the advancing multitudes, though, indeed, it is doubtful if any thing could have stopped them except downright physical force. The shouting was becoming louder, and the rattling of the musketry nearer.

Till then the king had worn the uniform of the National Guard ; but, passing into a neighboring apartment, he soon returned in the dress of a citizen. The queen accompanied him. Her agitation was extreme, and she gave vent to her sorrow in the most touching exclamations. “ Ah,” she often repeated, in accents of gentle reproach, “ the French will see if it be easy to find so good a king. They shall never find his like. They shall regret him, but it will be too late ! ”

The Duchess of Orleans, who had witnessed all this in silence, now seeing the king preparing to depart, rose to follow him, exclaiming, in a broken voice, “ Are you going to leave me here alone, without parents, friends, or any one to advise me ? What do you want to become of me ? ” The king replied, with much kindness, “ My dear Helene, the dynasty must be saved, and the crown preserved to your son. Remain here, then, for his sake ; it is a sacrifice which you owe him.” Still she threw herself at his feet, and implored him to take her with him.

But her entreaties were vain, and the king, queen, and the rest of the royal family left the chamber immediately. After some severe difficulties and vicissitudes they succeeded in making their escape, and nearly all found refuge in England. The Duke of Nemours, after protecting the departure of his father, was to remain to take care of the duchess and her children. She remained standing in the same apartment, surrounded by some friends, undecided what course to take. The fighting was still going on outside. After some time, her friend, M. Dupin, suddenly entered.

"What news have you for me?" she asked.

"I am come to tell you," he replied, hopefully, "that perhaps the part of a second Maria Theresa is reserved for you."

"Direct me," said the princess; "my life belongs to France and to my children."

"Then let us depart; we have not a moment to lose. Let us go to the Chamber of Deputies."

The Duke de Nemours, having by this time seen his father safely off, and received his parting benediction, now returned, and walked beside the princess on her way to the Chamber of Deputies. M. Dupin was at the other side. She led her eldest son, the Count of Paris, by the hand, whilst her other child, the Duke de Chartres, was carried in the arms of an aide-de-camp.

Scarcely had they quitted the palace of the Tuileries, when a body of republicans, headed by Captain Dunoyer, forced their way into it, filled the apartments, swept away every trace of royalty, proclaimed the republic, tore away the drapery which served as a canopy to the throne, formed the tatters into trophies, scarfs, and cockades, and, satisfied with their work there, soon reformed,

and set out for the Chamber of Deputies on the heels of the regency party.\*

In the mean time the duchess, radiant in youth and beauty, pale with terror and anxiety, leading her children by the hand, on entering the Chamber had created among the assembled deputies a sensation decidedly favorable to her claims. But as Sauzet, the president, was warmly speaking in advocacy of her pretensions to the regency during the minority of her son, a multitude of the populace, National Guards, &c., bursting in, interrupted his speech, and caused much confusion for some time. Lamartine, seeing that discussion was fettered by the presence of the princess, moved an adjournment until she should have retired; and this not succeeding, M. Marie, a stern, decided man, told the assembly plainly that they could not appoint the Duchess of Orleans regent until they had repealed the law nominating the Duke de Nemours to that office. In the mean time the cries demanded the establishment of a provisional government.

Odillon Barrot's powerful speech in favor of the duchess and order was listened to in silence, and he had hardly concluded when a new tumult was heard. It was Dunoyer's party, which, after ransacking the Tuileries, now broke into the hall, determined to support the "friends of the people," and to terrify "the venal majority." Several of the deputies crowded around the duchess to protect her from these intruders. No violence, however, was offered; in fact it was whispered among the republicans present that too many monarchists were in the hall, and that the republic was be-

\* Lamartine, *Revolution*, lib. 3.

trayed. Marrast ran out exclaiming, "This is only the sham people; I am going after the real people."

Ledru Rollin endeavored to excite anti-monarchical and republican sentiments without much success, and concluded by calling for a provisional government.

Members were still irresolute, when LAMARTINE was loudly called for from all quarters of the hall, and requested to ascend the tribune. Hitherto Lamartine had been generally regarded more in the light of a sweet poet, a dreaming philosopher, the brilliant advocate of glorious but impracticable measures, than a sound politician. He had lately, however, written a book, "The History of the Girondins," in which he had, as it were, deified republicanism, and brought down his wonderful genius to the level of the masses. By this he had become at once extremely popular, but gained little or no political power. Now his time was come. Let us take a few passages out of his famous speech:—

"Gentlemen," he began, "I participate as profoundly as any man among you in that twofold sentiment which has just pervaded this assembly at the sight of one of the most touching spectacles which the annals of humanity can present—that of an august princess sheltering herself in her affliction beneath the innocence of her children; who has fled from a deserted and invaded palace, and thrown herself into the sanctuary of the popular representation.

"But, gentlemen," he continued, "I have no less a lively sense of the respect due to the people. \* \* \* I cannot suppose that a momentary acclamation, drawn, by an honorable emotion, from an assembly melted to tenderness by a natural feeling, can establish a stable and undisputed government over a population of thirty-

six millions. I know that what one burst of popular enthusiasm may create, another may destroy. I know that, in order to escape the crisis in which we are placed, it is of consequence to have, not an ephemeral government, but a stable, a national, a popular, in short, an *immovable order of things*. \* \* \*

"Well," he asked, "how are we to arrive at this? How to find this immovable basis? *By going to the very foundations of the people and the country, by extracting from national rights that great secret of universal sovereignty, whence issue all order, all liberty, all truth.* We want a government which may clear up the terrible and unsuspected state of things which has for years existed between the different classes of our citizens, and which, by hindering our settlement and mutual recognition as a united people, has prevented our loving and embracing each other in unaffected harmony. \* \* \* I demand, then, that we instantly constitute a provisional government."

He was continually interrupted by the wildest acclamations of approval, and was still speaking when Marrast returned with his "real people." The bursting open and crashing of doors was heard for a moment, and then crowds of desperadoes, blood-and-powder-stained, ragged, ferocious, with wild, streaming locks, and armed with muskets, forced their way with terrific cries up to the spectators' galleries, whence they looked down with ominous countenances on the cowering troops of terrified deputies. "Down with the regency!" they shouted; "the republic forever! Turn out the corrupt!" Their captain, Dunoyer, got up behind the speaker's chair, and waved over his head the tricolor flag fringed with gold. "This flag," he cried, "demon-

strates that here there is no longer any will but ours, and outside these walls are a hundred thousand fighting men, who will no longer submit to kings or regents." It was a scene to terrify the bravest.

The majority of the scared deputies slip away. The Duchess of Orleans escapes, but not without hearing savage threats, and after being in serious danger of losing her life; her youngest child is torn from her in the crowd, and it is only after two days of intense agony that he is restored to her arms. The Duke de Nemours was also separated from her in the crowd, but he finally managed to join his father in England.

A fresh body of insurgents now entered the hall, their arms reeking with the blood of the Municipal Guards, whom they had slain in the Place de la Concorde. Supposing Lamartine an orator hostile to the people, they levelled their muskets at him, and were with difficulty prevented by others from firing. Some of the opposition deputies, who had remained behind, now told Lamartine to take the chair, and not to leave it until the new government was prepared. With this request he refused to comply; but he had Dupont de l'Eure, now eighty years of age, a veteran republican, who had been a member of the famous Council of Five Hundred, carried to the chair, at the sight of whom something like order began to prevail. Lists containing names for the proposed provisional government were handed to Lamartine, who, selecting such as he considered best, gave them to the chairman. They were MM. Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Cremieux, each name being ratified by volleys of applause.

Lamartine, now fearing that another administration



would be proclaimed by the journalists, in the headquarters of the revolution at the other side of the river, and that thus each government might perish by the other's hands, resolved to anticipate them, and proposed an immediate adjournment to the Hotel de Ville — the City Hall, the People's Palace. The proposal was accepted, and the crowds, forming themselves into a sort of column, started at once for the building. But they found a fearful tumult raging within and around it.

The courts, the avenues, the staircases, the rooms, the windows were full of combatants, orators, spectators, shouting, crushing, fighting — a living sea, madly heaving and tossing about beneath the roaring tempest of the revolution. In such a wild commotion no human lungs could make themselves heard. The members of the new government were separated in the throng. But Flottard, a municipal officer, who knew every corner in and around the Hotel de Ville, managed to have them all assembled together in a little cabinet well protected by a trusty guard. There, seated around a little council table, they commenced to organize themselves, and finding Marrast, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, the celebrated socialist writer, too powerful to be excluded from a government depending altogether for its authority on public opinion, at first appointed them secretaries; but they were soon allowed to have deliberative voices, as well as the others.

The fear of night coming on Paris before it had a recognized government, and thus exposing such a city to the blind fury of three hundred thousand armed men, nerved them all to almost supernatural exertions. As each new officer received his commission he hurried away to execute it. Earnestness and enthusiasm wrought

wonders. The polytechnic and other students, all in arms, forming themselves into an extempore army and surrounding the Hotel de Ville, they protected the government, and conveyed its orders safely to every part of the city. Proclamations to the people and to the army, rapidly written and signed by well-known and respected names, flying like lightning from hand to hand, tranquillized by degrees this wonderful people, who, now that the reaction had commenced, began to restore what an hour before they had been so eager to demolish. The officers of the army, finding that some centre of action existed, rapidly sent in their adhesion ; with few exceptions they were all retained in their commands, and immediately took every means to reestablish order and tranquillity. Communications were at once despatched to the country, apprising France of the issue of the contest. The threads of government, that had been so rudely snapped, were being rapidly united together. The short February day began with a monarchy, and now ended with a republic.

The telegraph sending this news through the United States took us all by surprise ; but we were hardly more astonished than the Parisians found themselves that Thursday night, as they read over and over again the various proclamations issued by the provisional government.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*The Revolution accomplished. — Lamartine. — Bonapartists excluded from Office. — Arrival of Louis Napoleon in Paris, and his Letter to the Government. — He is ordered to quit France in twenty-four Hours. — Jerome's Letter. — Louis Napoleon returns to England. — Persigny and his Exertions. — Elections. — Bonapartes in the Assembly. — Attempted Revolution of the 15th of May. — National Workshops. — Louis Napoleon is elected Representative of Paris and of three Departments.*

THE revolution was accomplished. The provisional government was acknowledged. The rest soon followed. A republic was proclaimed, subject to the ratification of the people by a National Assembly forthwith to be convoked. Order was restored. Little blood was shed. In three days thirty-six millions of impassioned minds passed without disorder from one form of government to another. The scaffold was abolished for political offences; prisons were opened only to receive malefactors; the odious red flag was rejected and the tricolor re-adopted; even laws of taxation were readily obeyed by a suffering people.

Such a change is wonderful to think of. Taking every thing into consideration — the number of antagonistic parties, their violent spirit, the excitable nature of the people, the poverty and destitution of the Parisian populace, who had the power to do every thing any moment they chose to exert it — such a fact is unparalleled in history. This happy termination of a state of affairs that had first looked so frightfully menacing, was due, under Heaven, to the prudence, the energy, the courage,

and above all, to the sublime eloquence of Lamartine. Of this accomplished poet, orator, and statesman, one of the most wonderfully endowed of all the great men that his country ever produced, we would willingly give further notice, did time permit. Of him we can now, however, only say, that if, unfortunately, at times he has been led astray, through an excessive fondness for admiration, no one was ever possessed of qualities better calculated to excite it.

All France was invited to the elections, which were fixed for the 24th of April. The privilege of election was declared to belong to all without exception. In the words of the proclamation, written by Lamartine, and signed by the provisional government, "every Frenchman, having attained the age of manhood, was a political citizen; every citizen an elector; every elector a sovereign." Young men of twenty-five years of age could be representatives. The anticipation of the grand installation of the sovereignty of the people appeared to appease the minds of the great bulk of the public.

In the mean time the government had organized itself. Lamartine was appointed minister of foreign affairs; Ledru Rollin, of the interior; Cremieux, of justice; Arago, of the marine and of war at the same time; Marie, of public works; Goudchaux, the banker, of finances; Bethmont, of commerce; Carnot, son of the great republican, of worship and public instruction; General Cavaignac, governor of Algeria; General Courtais, commander-in-chief of the National Guard. Every body tinctured with Bonapartism, however slightly, seemed to be rigidly excluded from office. Still the partisans of the empire, the friends of Louis Napoleon, those of his family, and some old followers of the emperor,

grouped themselves around General Piat. This devoted adherent, at the first news of the abdication, had run to the Hotel de Ville to defend the rights of the imperial family; but, instead of making himself heard, he had been almost torn to pieces by the furious republicans, who dreaded the influence which the great name still possessed over the popular mind.

King Jerome, youngest brother of Napoleon, and his son, Prince Napoleon, happened to be in Paris on the 24th of February; but they lived in retirement, preserving a kind of incognito, through a natural sentiment of delicacy towards the fallen government, which had authorized their temporary sojourn in France. They had, however, entered into consultation with several eminent personages, who advised them to keep quiet, until at last they had felt their ground and counted up their secret auxiliaries.

Prince Louis Napoleon, hearing of the abrupt termination of Louis Philippe's reign, immediately left London, accompanied by Dr. Couneau and a few others attached to his fortunes, and arrived in Paris on the 27th, the very day on which the republic was solemnly proclaimed on the Place de la Bastille, at the foot of the Column of July. On his arrival he immediately found himself surrounded by his most devoted friends; the majority of them were the men who had embraced his cause at Strasburg and Boulogne, and all of them were still ready to shed their last drop of blood for his sake. In the company of General Montholon, Persigny, Colonel Voisin, and the other companions of his enterprises, he almost forgot his previous sufferings. Though he saw that they were as devoted as ever, he said nothing in their presence of his ulterior projects; he had an in-

terview, however, with his uncle, King Jerome, and his cousin, Prince Napoleon, in order to agree on the course they should pursue, so as to sustain the Napoleonic claims, in the presence of the provisional government of the republic. The prince then sent the following letter to Lamartine for the provisional government: —

“**MESSIEURS** : The heroic people of Paris having destroyed the last vestiges of foreign invasion, I hasten from my exile to place myself under the banner of the republic just proclaimed.

“ With no other ambition than that of serving my country, I come to announce my arrival to the members of the provisional government, and to assure them of my devotion to the cause which they represent, as well as of my sympathy for themselves.

“ Accept, Messieurs, the assurance of my sentiments.

“ **LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.**”

To this letter the government replied by a formal injunction to the writer to quit Paris within twenty-four hours, and the journals contented themselves with announcing simply that Louis Napoleon had been ordered to depart on the morning after his arrival. But another letter, expressing the same thoughts as that of the prince, had been sent at the same time to the members of the provisional government by King Jerome, who had it posted up on all the walls in Paris as soon as he was apprised that the government made no opposition to his residence in France. Here is that letter, which, eagerly read and commented upon by the people, awakened for the first time the slumbering echoes of imperialism.

"MESSIEURS THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: The nation has torn to pieces the treaties of 1815. The old soldier of Waterloo,\* the last brother of Napoleon, returns at once to the bosom of the great family.

"The season of the dynasties has passed away for France.

"The proscription law which struck me is fallen with the last of the Bourbons. I ask the government of the republic to pass a decree declaring my proscription to be an insult to France, and to have disappeared with every thing else that was imposed on us by foreign power.

"JEROME BONAPARTE.

"PARIS, *February 28, 1848.*"

The names "Napoleon" and "Bonaparte" had alarmed the provisional government; it was in their treatment of Louis Napoleon, however, that this was principally seen. Some hostile and menacing voices even went so far as to demand exceptional measures to be taken against the conspirator of Strasburg and Boulogne; they proposed to send him back to Ham, and to keep him there in captivity until such time as the republic would have acquired stability enough to have nothing to dread from a military and Bonapartist attempt at counter revolution. But against such an odious abuse of power Lamartine pleaded with all his generosity and eloquence; he had little difficulty, however, in convincing his colleagues, that the arrest of the prince, as well as every other act of persecution exercised in his regard in the name of the republic would be attended by no other

\* Jerome commenced the battle of Waterloo by attacking Hougoumont, at the head of the left wing of the French army.

consequence than that of gaining him new adherents, and reanimating in France the old Napoleon fanaticism.

Still two members of the government declared that, out of regard for the public safety, it was expedient to secure the person of a pretender who was inevitably the born enemy of republican institutions, and that Lamartine was responsible for whatever consequences might arise from this affair of Louis Napoleon. Lamartine, yielding to this violence, and fearing lest the prince might fall a victim to the concealed power of the secret societies, officially acquainted him that his liberty, and even his life, were not safe in Paris, where no regular authority as yet existed.

The prince hesitated what part to take ; some of his friends advised him to withdraw to some garrison city, and there make head against the popular factions by calling around him the true people to the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" But his own good sense soon told him that France was at that moment in too grave and perilous a position, before the eyes of all Europe, to be able to endure a new embarrassment from any appeal of his to the people. He resigned himself therefore, easily, to the idea of returning to England, and announced his departure to the provisional government in the following terms :—

"MESSIEURS: After thirty-three years of exile and persecution, I thought I had acquired the right of finding a home on the soil of my country.

"You deem my presence in Paris at this moment a subject of embarrassment. I withdraw then for a time. You will see in this sacrifice the purity of my intentions and of my patriotism.



"Receive, messieurs, the assurance of my deep sympathy and esteem.

"L. N. BONAPARTE."

Before returning to England, Louis Napoleon had time to prepare a course of action which King Jerome and Prince Napoleon engaged to follow. The fundamental act regulating the hereditary succession to the imperial throne, by the organic *senatus consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year 12, (1804,) was still in force among the members of the Bonaparte family. Jerome submitted to the wishes of the founder of the dynasty there expressed, and readily acknowledged Louis Napoleon's claims to be the emperor's successor. It was agreed, then, that, without attempting to injure in any respect the development and progress of the republican government, the Bonaparte family should at once actively resume the exercise of its civil rights, and should mingle as much as possible in events, in order to attach to itself the great popularity that belonged to the name of Napoleon.

Persigny remained in Paris charged with organizing in France the Napoleon party in the heart of the republic. With the enthusiastic eloquence of this devoted friend of the prince, we have already made some acquaintance, on the occasion of the famous trial resulting from the affair of Boulogne. But M. de Persigny possessed other qualities besides eloquence to render him a most efficient organizer. He had that tenacity and perseverance that are indispensable in arranging matters in times of difficulty. He possessed the art of establishing relations of sympathy and interest between men of the same opinion; he found in the ardor of his political

convictions an irresistible power of attraction and persuasion; he concealed under an impassive exterior, and under forms coldly polite, the energy, resolution, and courage which he had employed exclusively in forwarding the cause to which he had been devoted for the last sixteen years; he united audacity with prudence, subtlety with frankness; in fine, — and this gave him his greatest strength, — he had unshaken confidence in the destinies of Prince Louis Napoleon.

It was Persigny, then, that became the soul of the party, during those difficult moments when France, apparently republicanized in spite of herself, by Ledru Rollin's government commissioners, — sent forth by this minister of the interior to take the place of the prefects and sub-prefects of the monarchy, — saw herself enveloped in the immense net spread by anarchical clubs and the secret societies. In the midst of them all, Persigny, in concert with the prince's friends, and especially with the most intelligent of his companions of the enterprises of Strasburg and Boulogne, secretly founded a Napoleon committee, which soon extended its ramifications through every department in France. It had its centre in Paris, and from this single centre, which was subject to the direction of Louis Napoleon, proceeded, incessantly, devoted agents, who went from province to province, preparing the country for the return of the imperial family, and trying to arouse the *Napoleonic Idea*.

It does not seem to have been the intention of this committee to prepare an insurrection against the republic, or to encourage resistance to its authority; its object appears to have been to spread, multiply, organize, and finally to collect and bring to a focus, the strength of the Bonapartist opinion throughout the country. This opin-

ion soon had an organ, which was not the less useful for not being avowed. The journal entitled *La Liberté*, having a daily circulation of more than a hundred thousand copies, dared sometimes to speak of the empire, and to sound the great name of Napoleon, at a time when the vast field of the periodical press was furrowed in all directions by the sharp pens of democracy, demagoguism and socialism.

As long as the disorderly reign of incendiary journals, of delirious clubs, of national workshops, of social war in theory, and sometimes in practice too, lasted, — as long as the provisional government had to defend itself and the infant republic against the intrigues, the plots, and the furious attacks of the socialist democratic parties, the Napoleon party gave no sign of its existence, and carefully avoided furnishing republican absolutism with any new grounds for irritation, suspicion, or injustice.

The Bonapartists wished to manifest themselves at the elections, and the time at last came when the country was called upon to appoint representatives for the National Assembly.

Immediately the department of Corsica remembering that it had given Napoleon to France, the name Napoleon presented itself at once to the choice of the electors. The candidacy of the Princes Louis Napoleon, Pierre, (Lucien's son,) and Napoleon Bonaparte, was joyfully hailed by the whole population. But Louis Napoleon would not accept the intended honor, and he announced to the electors that it was his decided resolution to remain apart from political life until France would have solemnly abrogated the decrees by which his family was proscribed. On the contrary, Pierre and Napoleon eagerly accepted the offer made to them by the em-

peror's native country; they announced their intention to repair immediately to Corsica, accompanied by King Jerome, to take their part in the elections.

The city of Ajaccio gave them a magnificent reception. "Never since the landing of the commander-in-chief of the army of Egypt," appeared in a letter dated the 13th of April, "have we seen any thing approaching the enthusiasm, the tumultuous joy of our population, and the smiling, animated aspect of our city. Ajaccio, proud of having given birth to the emperor, will receive our illustrious guests under a long avenue of triumphal arches, decorated with national emblems and allegorical inscriptions."

The two princes were unanimously elected, and one of their cousins, Prince Lucien Murat, son of their aunt Caroline, was elected at the same time in the department of Lot.

On the 4th of May, 1848, when the Constituent Assembly met for the first time, the power of the provisional government came to an end, and an executive committee of five was appointed by ballot, to exercise the intermediate authority until the definitive establishment of the constitutional power. Arago received the greatest number of votes, Garnier Pagès the next, Marie was third, Lamartine the fourth, and Ledru Rollin the fifth. Many were surprised at this unexpected proof of Lamartine's declining popularity. But in trying to maintain the good opinion of both Bourgeois and Socialist he had satisfied neither. He had become too great a friend of Ledru Rollin to please the provinces, and his bold rejection of the red flag had mortally offended the extreme parties in the capital. His connection with Ledru Rollin was much blamed at the time. But it is

probable that, fully acquainted with Rollin's vast influence over the secret societies, and also well knowing the extreme violence of the man when aroused, he had adopted the plan of conciliating him by friendliness, rather than of infuriating him by hostility. Under the circumstances this may have been the more prudent way ; but it was misunderstood. Buchez was named first president of the Assembly.

In this body the three Bonapartes took their seats as representatives of the people, the proscription laws of 1816 and 1832 notwithstanding. The silent acquiescence of the Assembly, generally, in this proceeding, so encouraged the party, that on the 27th of May, Pietri, a Corsican deputy, handed up a petition signed by twenty members, demanding that the laws prescribing the banishment of the Bonaparte family should be repealed. The signers of this petition, however, were not all Napoleonists ; in fact, it was apparently only a bold reply to the violent expressions made use of by Vignerte, one of the most exclusive republicans of the Assembly. "The Bonapartes," said this deputy, "are here only *provisionally*."

"Provisionally !" exclaimed Prince Napoleon ; "what does the gentleman mean by provisionally ? There is no provisionality for a French citizen. I am a French citizen as well as M. Vignerte himself, and with the same title. It is surprising, to say the least of it, that a member of this Assembly should permit himself to speak of one of his colleagues taking his seat in this hall provisionally."

This angry discussion was brought about, perhaps, by the exasperation into which men's minds had been thrown by the attempt to upset the government, made by the street agitations on the 15th. Of this violation

of popular sovereignty we have not space to give the details. Besides, we have all read in the papers how, under the pretext of a manifestation in favor of Poland, fifteen thousand men, led by the chiefs of the clubs, marched from the Place de la Bastille to the Place de la Concorde; how the liberty of the national representation not being efficiently protected by the inadequate armed force present for the purpose, the Assembly was invaded, and Raspail mounted the tribune to read the petition; how he was followed in succession by Blanqui, Barbès, and at last by Huber, who, in the midst of the frightful uproar caused by the insurgents, and in presence of the National Assembly, which all through maintained a motionless and dignified silence, pronounced, on his own authority, the dissolution of the national representation. We do not forget the adjournment of the triumphant revolutionists to the Hotel de Ville, the decrees passed there regarding the outlawry of the National Guard, and the levy of a tax of one thousand million francs on the rich. Finally, we remember how their success was of only two hours' duration, and how many of the leaders were taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed by the National Guards without firing a shot. With this presumptuous *émeute*, however, the Napoleon party had had nothing to do.

From similar continual disturbances it followed, as a matter of course, that public confidence had become almost ruined. Capitalists concealed their treasure. Merchandise, property of all kinds, rapidly depreciated. Half of the stores were closed; employers, finding no sale for their goods, dismissed their hands, and a hundred thousand workmen, without means of support, roamed around the streets of Paris, willingly giving ear

to any promise, and ready to join in any disturbance. To remedy such a state of things, the system of *National Workshops* had been devised. But whatever may be said of such a system in the abstract, and under other circumstances, here it certainly produced the worst consequences. It swallowed up millions in supporting men at useless work, or rather no work at all ; it discouraged the industrious by holding out a premium to idlers ; it habituated the talkers and the indolent to think that they possessed a gratuitous claim on the nation for their maintenance, attracting many laborers from the provinces into the capital ; it led the way to the tremendous battle of June ; and, worst of all, by the enormous tax required to support it, it effectually disgusted the great majority of the French people, quiet, silent, but thoughtful, with the very name of republicanism.

Several voids had been left in the Assembly by double or informal elections, which it now became necessary to fill up. The time appointed for this purpose was June 3. Offers were again made to Louis Napoleon, but he declared that he would not accept them. To return to France, even as representative, he waited, he said, until his presence in his native land should not be made a pretext for disturbances and annoyances from the government. But in spite of these explicit refusals, his name was put on the electoral lists, and he was returned as the representative of four departments at once. That of Seine was of this number, and in the city of Paris, though his name was mentioned only the evening previous to the election, he received 84,420 votes.

Every attempt had been made by the government, and by the secret societies, to repress this sudden Bonaparte excitement. His friends' proclamations had been

torn down, votes in his favor had been declared void, ignorant and credulous electors had been deceived in every possible way, and still the result was his election by four departments, Seine, Yonne, Charente-Inferieure, and Corsica.

The star of Louis Napoleon at last began to make its appearance above the horizon.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

*Causes of the sudden Bonapartist Enthusiasm. — Ill Will of the Executive Commission. — Meetings on the Boulevards. — Alarm in the Assembly. — Project of Proscription against Louis Napoleon. — Letters from the Prince. — His Election sanctioned. — Letter of thanks to his Electors. — Proclamation of the Prefect, M. Marc Dufraisse.*

To swell this sudden current of the prince's popularity much had contributed. Lithographs, medals, and busts, sold by thousands, notwithstanding all the efforts of the police to put a stop to such propagandism, rendered his features known every where, whilst biographical pamphlets, placards, and newspapers, related the interesting story of his life, from his birth, surrounded with all the splendors of the imperial dynasty, to the termination of his long and wearisome captivity in the fortress of Ham. The recollection of his mother, Queen Hortense, and especially of his grandmother, the good Josephine, still remained pure and grateful in the hearts of the people. Then the glorious legend of his uncle, the emperor, threw a kind of sacred halo around his head in the eyes of France, and even his own adven-



tures at Strasburg and Boulogne were found to have something chivalrous and romantic about them. Patriotic songs, full of imperial allusions, circulated in the *salons*; these were caught up by the people, and heartily chanted as often as the vigilance of the police left them the opportunity.\*

\* Of these songs, "L'AIGLE PRISONNIER" (the Captive Eagle) perhaps made the most noise at the time. It was written by Paul Lacroix, (Bibliophile Jacob,) on the occasion of Louis Napoleon's escape from Ham. This writer has since written a life of the prince, which, though exceeding partial, is very full, and supplies us with many of our facts.

The song, though of little literary merit, and by no means clear in its allusions, applying, as they do, sometimes to Louis Napoleon, sometimes to the eagle of France, still, like most political songs, answered its purpose pretty well. The following is a somewhat literal translation of our own:—

#### "THE CAPTIVE EAGLE.

"From his eyry a daring young eagle would spring,  
In the regions of brightness to dwell,  
But, assailed with red lightnings, and shattered his wing,  
In a marsh, bruised and gasping, he fell;  
Still proudly he glanced at the azure-hued dome  
Of his loved native country, the sky.  
O, gallant young eagle, though far from thy home,  
In freedom, at least, thou shalt die!

"But a cunning old sportsman, who passed by the way  
With his nets, seeking prey to decoy,  
Saw the bird, where exhausted and bleeding he lay,  
And the cheaply-won prize seized with joy.  
In a cage he confined him—O, barbarous deed!  
With passive, though proud-gleaming eye,  
Ah, captive young eagle, thy doom is decreed;  
Now take thy last look at the sky!

"But no; for though vexed and oppressed in his cage,  
Hopes of freedom he never resigns;  
The sun's genial rays soothe his wounds and his rage,  
And new glorious flights he designs;  
At last with strong beak the vile bars he tears down.  
He is free! see him wheeling on high!  
Soar again, noble eagle of deathless renown,  
In thy own native region, the sky."

But the executive commission had come to the resolution to exclude Louis Napoleon from the National Assembly. Orders were sent to the ministers of the interior and of war to transmit immediately to the proper officers throughout the country a description of the prince's person, with an injunction to have him arrested as soon as he made his appearance on French territory. It was also resolved to lay three questions before the Assembly: 1. Is the citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte a Frenchman? 2. Is Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte a pretender? 3. Had the people a right to elect a man who is not a French citizen, and a prince who pretends, under the republic, to the imperial crown? It was expected that Louis Napoleon, in consequence of having formerly accepted the title of *citizen of Thurgau*, could be proved to have renounced his French nationality; it was also hoped that from his attempts at Strasburg and Boulogne he could be easily pronounced an imperial pretender; and, these two points decided in the affirmative, it was determined without hesitation to annul the vote of the people.

From the beginning of June great crowds had been in the habit of collecting every evening on the Boulevards, between Porte St. Martin and Porte St. Denis. Much agitation pervaded these assemblies, and they criticised pretty sharply, and in no low key, every new measure of the government. The threatened dissolution of the national workshops was the favorite theme of the orators, though arguments in favor of Louis Napoleon's election were often hailed with loud acclamations. It is said that Bonapartist agents often addressed these crowds. Perhaps they did; but it is not the less certain that these assemblies consisted almost altogether

of red republicans, the sworn foes alike of Bonapartism and of moderate republicanism. Every evening they increased in numbers, and collected at an earlier hour. Trouble was anticipated, and General Piat, the friend of Louis Napoleon, desirous to exonerate his party from all blame in the result, had a notice affixed to the walls of Paris on the 11th of June, from which the following is an extract: "Insidious ringleaders are sowing agitation around us; they cover their projects with the name of our fellow-citizen, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a name that repels disorder and anarchy. Avoid the snares laid for you; calmly await the sovereign decision of the National Assembly; it is enemies alone that can impel you to reprehensible demonstrations. Believe me, these would be strongly reprobated by our new representative, to whom the republic has just restored a country."

Next day greater crowds than ever assembled in the morning. They were dispersed; but in the afternoon they collected again, and this time more especially on the Place de la Concorde, not far from the *Corps Legislatif*, within which the National Assembly was in session. Lamartine was speaking there at the time, but the increasing noise of drums and shouting rendered the representatives inattentive to his observations.

Suddenly a member dashes into the hall; he is at once surrounded, and eagerly questioned. "Bonapartist rioters" he exclaims, "are assembled on the Place de la Concorde; a musket shot has been fired at Clement-Thomas, the commander of the National Guards." He was continuing his account when Lamartine, still in the tribune, interrupted him, changed the subject of his own discourse, and thus addressed the Assembly: —

“Citizens, a fatal occurrence has caused me to pause in my discourse. Whilst I was speaking of the restoration of order, and of the guarantees we are all disposed to offer for the consolidation of the government, a musket shot, several musket shots, it is said, have been fired. One was aimed at the commander of the National Guard, another at one of the brave officers of the army, and a third has struck, it is alleged, an officer of the National Guard. These shots were fired amidst cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* Gentlemen, this is the first drop of blood which has stained the pure and glorious revolution of the 24th of February. To the honor of the populace, the honor of the different parts of the republic, this blood, at least, has not been shed by their hands. Neither has it flowed in the name of Liberty, but in the name of the fanaticism of military recollections, and of an opinion naturally, though perhaps involuntarily, hostile to every republic.

“Citizens, whilst deploring with you the misfortune which has just occurred, the government has taken the precaution of standing prepared—as far at least as it can stand prepared—against events of this nature. This very morning, only an hour before we assembled here, we unanimously signed a declaration, which we proposed to read to you at the close of the sitting, but which the circumstance that has just transpired forces me to read to you immediately. When insolent faction is taken in the very act of turpitude, when it is detected with its hands imbrued in French blood, the law must be enforced with common accord. [Applause.]

“The declaration I am about to have the honor to read to the Assembly,” pursued Lamartine, drawing a document from his bosom, “has reference only to the

execution of an existing law. But this declaration is necessary for legalizing the authority which may be called into execution to-morrow. It is indispensable, as a preparation for deliberating on another proposition referring to the same subject, and which must be discussed to-morrow or the day after; it is necessary, moreover, that the National Assembly should know the intentions of the executive commission with regard to Charles Louis Bonaparte. Here then is the substance of the decree which we propose to you:—

“‘THE COMMISSION OF THE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY, bearing in view Article III. of the 13th of January, 1816, and the Articles XII. and VI. of the law of the 16th of April, 1832,—

“‘Considering that Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is comprehended in the law of 1832, which exiles from the French territory the members of the Bonaparte family;—

“‘Considering that though there have been, in fact, exceptions to this law by the vote of the National Assembly, which has admitted the members of that family to form part of the Assembly, yet those exceptions were merely individual, and did not extend either by right or in fact to other members of the same family;—

“‘Considering that France desires to found the republican government in peace and order, without being disturbed in her task by dynastic pretensions and ambitions of a nature to create parties and factions in the state, and consequently to foment civil war, however undesignedly;—

“‘Considering that Charles Louis Bonaparte has twice placed himself in the position of a pretender, by attempt-

ing to establish a mock republic, in virtue of the *senatus consultum* of the year 13 ;—

“ ‘ Considering that agitations injurious to the popular republic which we desire to found, and calculated to compromise the safety of institutions, and to disturb the public peace, have already taken place in the name of Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte ;—

“ ‘ Considering that these agitations, which are symptomatic of culpable intrigues, might be an obstacle to the pacific establishment of the republic, if encouraged by negligence or weakness on the part of the government ;—

“ ‘ Considering that the government cannot make itself responsible for the danger to which republican institutions, as well as the public peace, would be exposed, if it were wanting in its first duty, by failing to execute an existing law, justified more than ever in unsettled times, by reasons of state, and for seconding the public welfare, —

“ ‘ *Declares* — That it will enforce, as far as concerns Louis Bonaparte, the law of 1832, until such time as the National Assembly shall otherwise decide.’ ”

Here the assembly rose, all uttering cries of “ *Vive la Republique !* ” with the exception of General Larabit, the Bonapartes, and a few other members of the representative body.

After a few more observations from Lamartine, the Assembly by its acclamations generally expressed its approbation of the energetic determination of the government.

The representatives, however, on returning home after this stormy sitting, were surprised to find that the hostile groups had nearly all vanished, and that the public tran-

quillity seemed to have been little, if at all, troubled. They were still more surprised that the musket shots fired at the commander of the National Guard, and at the brave officers, had dwindled down to a mere pistol shot, which, as Clement-Thomas himself next day declared in the tribune, *had gone off, perhaps, by accident.*

This did not augur well for the discussion that was to take place on the same day, the 13th of June, when the Assembly was called upon to pronounce upon the validity of the elections, so favorable to Louis Napoleon. Many orators opposed his admission. Ledru Rollin combated it violently, though he asserted, strangely enough, that "the republic feared nobody." M. Buchez, another orator on the same side, exclaimed, with still greater simplicity, "Has not Louis Napoleon played the pretender twice at Boulogne and Strasburg? Well, if you admit him here, he will come in attended with the popular acclamation, which will render him more and more powerful every day."

M. Vicillard, whose name we have met already, stood up for his friend; he repelled the calumnies of the press and the tribune. "Do you want to know the sentiments that animated him before his election?" he asked. "If you do, listen to a letter he wrote to me last month, but which was never intended for publicity."

"No, no!" cried the Left. "We don't want to hear any prince's letters!"

But curiosity partly overcoming ill will, Vieillard read the following letter in comparative silence:—

"LONDON, May 11, 1848.

"MY DEAR M. VIEILLARD: I have not yet answered the letter which you addressed me from St. Lo, because

I was waiting your return to Paris, when I would have an opportunity to explain my conduct.

“I was not desirous to present myself as candidate at the elections, because I am convinced my position in the Assembly would have been extremely embarrassing. My name, my antecedents, have made of me, willing or unwilling, not a party chief, but a man upon whom the eyes of all malcontents are fixed. As long as French society shall remain unsettled, as long as the constitution shall remain undecided, I feel that my position in France will be to me extremely difficult, wearisome, and even dangerous.

“I have then taken the firm resolution of keeping myself apart, and of resisting all the charms a residence in my own country should possess.

“If France needed me; if my part were marked out, if, in short, I thought I could be useful to my country, —I would not hesitate to fling aside these secondary considerations, and to fulfil my duty. But, in the present circumstances, I can do no good; at most, I should only be in the way.

“On the other hand, I have important personal interests to attend to in England; I shall wait here a few months longer then, until affairs in France assume a calmer and more decided aspect.

“I do not know but that you will blame me for this resolution; but, if you had an idea of the number of ridiculous propositions that reach me even here, you would easily understand how much more I should be a butt in Paris for all sorts of intrigues.

“I do not want to meddle in any thing; I desire to see the republic become strong in wisdom and in rights,



and, in the mean time, I find voluntary exile very agreeable, because I know it is voluntary.

“Receive, &c.

“L. N. BONAPARTE.”

The reading of this letter was frequently interrupted with hisses and outcries.

M. Bonjean, another of the prince's friends, one of the most distinguished members of the Parisian bar, in his turn opposed the government measure. Alluding to MM. Buchez and Ledru Rollin, “These gentlemen,” said he, “speaking of Louis Bonaparte and his intentions, have observed that he had never expressed his adhesion to the republic. M. Ledru Rollin has, moreover, stated, ‘For some time rumor has been accusing Louis Bonaparte of being concerned in the disturbances that are taking place in the streets; many in his name have denied his connection with these disorders; himself alone has not denied it.’ I reply to this second imputation, it is true that Louis Napoleon has not personally protested against the reports of the last few days, but it is simply because he has not had time to do so. As to the first accusation, here is the letter that the prince has just sent to the National Assembly itself.” Hereupon he read the following letter, which had been received by the president the previous evening, and had appeared the same morning in the Parisian journals:—

“CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES: I learn, by the newspapers, that it has been proposed in the National Assembly to maintain against me alone the law of exile which has been in force against my family since the year 1816.

I now apply to the representatives of the people for information why I have deserved such a penalty.

“Can it be for having always publicly declared that, in my opinion, France was not the property either of an individual, or of a family, or of a party?

“Can it be because, desiring to accomplish the triumph, without anarchy or license, of the principles of national sovereignty, which alone can put an end to our dissensions, I have been twice the victim of my hostility to a government which you have overthrown?

“Can it be for having consented, out of deference to the wish of the provisional government, to return to a foreign country after having hastened to Paris upon the first report of the revolution?

“Can it be for having disinterestedly refused those nominations for the Assembly which were proffered to me, being resolved not to return to France until the new constitution should be agreed upon and the republic firmly established?

“The same reasons which have made me take up arms against the government of Louis Philippe, would induce me, were my services required, to devote myself to the defence of the Assembly—the result of universal suffrage.

“In presence of a king elected by two hundred deputies, I might have recollected that I was heir to an empire founded by the consent of four millions of Frenchmen.

“In the presence of the national sovereignty I neither can nor will claim more than my rights as a French citizen; but these I will demand incessantly, and with the energy imparted to an honest heart by the consciousness of never having done any thing to render it unworthy of its country.

“Receive, gentlemen, the assurance of my sentiments of high esteem.

“Your fellow-citizen,

“LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.”

This declaration of principles, so clear, so patriotic, so full of respect for the national sovereignty, and withal so firm, had its effect on the National Assembly, and, though not without murmurs, the election of the citizen Louis Napoleon was declared valid. The executive commission was defeated—so far—though they had been so confident of victory that the previous day the following despatch had been sent through all parts of the country :—

“PARIS, *June 13th*, 1848.

“THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR: By order of the commission of executive power, cause the arrest of Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte if he is signalled in your locality.

“Transmit the necessary orders in all directions.”

This was acting somewhat prematurely.

The journals of the following day published his letter of thanks to the electors of Seine, Yonne, Sarthe, and Charente Inferieure. He had not yet heard of his election in Corsica.

“CITIZENS: Your votes fill me with gratitude. This mark of sympathy, the more flattering as I had not solicited it, comes to find me regretting my inactivity at a time when our country has need of the united efforts of all her children to extricate her from her difficult position.

"Your confidence imposes duties upon me which I shall know how to fulfil; our interests, our sentiments, our wishes are the same. A Parisian by birth, now a representative of the people, I shall unite my efforts to those of my colleagues to reëstablish order, credit, industry, to assure external peace, to consolidate democratic institutions, to conciliate interests which are seemingly hostile, because they are mutually suspicious and clash against each other, instead of marching together towards one common goal, the prosperity and greatness of the country.

"The people are free since the 24th of February; they can now obtain every thing without having recourse to brutal violence.

"Let us rally then around the altar of our country, under the flag of the republic, and let us present to the world the grand spectacle of a people regenerating itself without fury, without civil war, without anarchy.

"Receive, dear fellow-citizens, the assurance of my devotion and of my sympathies.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"LONDON, *June 11, 1848.*"

The prince was now nominally a French citizen; but before he could make his appearance in France, another and a fiercer attack was to be made on him in the assembly, and his mortal foes, the red republicans, were to come near establishing a new reign of terror.

In the mean time, to close the chapter, we shall give our readers an idea of the feelings entertained by these red republicans towards Louis Napoleon, by presenting them with an extract taken from a proclamation with

which M. Marc Dufraisse, prefect appointed by Ledru Rollin over the department of Indre, had thought proper to accompany the despatch already given.

“CITIZENS: Twice — at Strasburg and Boulogne — has the mad ambition of a pretender attempted to precipitate France into a civil war. \* \* \* Impunity in the first instance, and then weakness, emboldened the vulgar heart of this witless conspirator. The signal honor just decreed him by the votes of a few misled, perhaps guilty men, has awakened his thoughts of usurpation, has revived his criminal and shameless hopes. Your crushing legitimate indignation will teach Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte that the French people, magnanimous to pardon, even to forget, crimes worthy of the most severe punishment, will never resign themselves to the reconstruction of a throne, whatever may be the name of the audacious, imprudent individual that aspires to ascend it. The young republic does not fear the 18th Brumaire of the year VII.\*

“Should the fugitive fall into your patriotic hands, bring him at once before your republican magistrates, and deliver him without pity to the justice of the revolution. Health and fraternities.

“The Prefect of the Republic,

“MARC DUFRAISSE.”

\* November 9, 1799 — the date of Napoleon's famous *coup d'état*.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Famous Letter from the Prince to the Assembly. — General Cavaignac and the Word "Republic." — Thouret's Proposal. — New Letter from the Prince. — The sanguinary Days of June and their Causes. — General Cavaignac appointed Dictator ; overcomes the Insurgents. — Louis Napoleon's Letter to General Piat. — His Return to Paris, and First Appearance in the Assembly. — Discussions on the Constitution. — New Attack, and the Prince's Reply. — Singular Scene in the Assembly.*

NEXT day, June 14, the reading of the following letter in the Assembly was the signal for a new attack : —

"LONDON, June 11, 1848."

"MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT: I was setting out for my post when I learned that my election was made the pretext for deplorable troubles and fatal mistakes. I have not sought the honor of being a representative of the people, because I was aware of the injurious suspicions which rested upon me ; much less did I seek the power. If the people impose duties upon me, I shall know how to fulfil them.

"But I disavow all the ambitious designs that some attribute to me. My name is a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory, and it would be with the liveliest grief that I should see it subservient to national disorders. To avoid such a misfortune I prefer to remain in exile. I am ready to sacrifice every thing for the happiness of France.

"Have the goodness, Mr. President, to communicate

this letter to the Assembly. I enclose you a copy of my letter of thanks to the electors.

“Receive, &c.

“LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.”

This letter was heard with profound silence. After a few moments Cavaignac spoke. The general was representative for the department of Lot, and had been lately appointed minister of war.

“Citizen Representatives!” he exclaimed, in solemn tones; “we were told a few days ago, by a member of the government, that one man alone ever studiously maintained silence respecting the republic. This silence has been broken. The thoughts that crowd upon me, at the present moment, do not permit me to express myself as I could wish; but the first thing that strikes me about this letter is, that it does not *once* contain the word *republic*.”

A frightful tumult ensues. Loud cries call for the outlawry of the pretender that dared to write to the Assembly without speaking of the republic. Others call attention to the phrase, “If people impose duties upon me, I shall know how to fulfil them.” “What is this,” cried Thouret, “but an appeal to revolt? treason to the French republic? I move that it be instantly decreed that Louis Bonaparte is a traitor to the country!”

“Yes, yes!” exclaimed the republicans of all shades. The executive commission wished to press the motion, confident of its being immediately carried. Louis Napoleon’s friends, though unable to withstand the torrent, and believing all was lost, still loudly called for a more dignified examination of the matter, and vehemently

endeavored to defer the decision till next day. "Settle it to-morrow!" they exclaimed.

"To-morrow?" cried Clement-Thomas, the self-constituted orator of the executive commission; "no! this discussion must be pursued and brought to an end *to-day*. If the information I have lately received be correct, it is a *battle* that you shall have to-morrow!"

But the word "battle" suggested a new topic of interest. It distracted the attention of the representatives. He was not believed, and soon was hardly listened to. "I repeat it," resumed the commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris. "You have no alternative. The discussion to-day, or a battle to-morrow. For which are you prepared? Come, declare at least that every citizen, daring to take up arms to sustain the cause of a despot, is a traitor to his country." But the Assembly decided nothing, and deferred the discussion to the next day.

On the next day, however, just as the discussion was on the point of being resumed with all its fury and disorder, the prince's secretary, M. Briffaut, arrived from London, and put into the hands of the president of the Assembly the following letter, which at once set hostile projects at rest:—

" LONDON, June 16, 1848.

"MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT: I was proud of having been elected representative at Paris, and in three other departments. This was, in my eyes, an ample reparation for thirty years of exile and six years of captivity. But the injurious suspicions arising from my election, the disorders of which it has been made the pretext, and the hostility of the executive power, impose it on



me as a duty to refuse an honor that is supposed to have been obtained by intrigue.

"I desire the order and permanence of a wise, great, and intelligent republic; and since, though involuntarily, I favor disorder, I now place, not without extreme regret, my resignation in your hands.

"I hope, however, tranquillity will soon prevail, and permit me to reënter France as the simplest of her citizens, and also as one most devoted to her repose and happiness.

"Receive, &c.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

The *battle* promised by M. Clement-Thomas did not take place on the day appointed; it was, however, only adjourned. It commenced, as we all know, on the 23d of June, with all the horrors of civil war. Who the leaders were, what were the immediate causes and precise objects of this insurrection, the most murderous that ever stained with blood the streets of the French capital, is still shrouded in mystery, and will probably always remain so. It is not wise to investigate some matters too closely. All we know is, that the movement was indicated long beforehand, though when it came the government did not seem prepared to suppress it. Perhaps it was brought on by the weakness and disunion of the government. The facts not admitting a doubt are, that two parties, equally opposed and irreconcilable, conspired against each other, in the very bosom of the executive commission; the revolutionary party desired the creation of a committee of public safety, supported by the clubs and the secret societies; the republican party, a dictatorship supported by the regular army and the

National Guard. Then the executive commission had winked at the disorderly state of things, which had been, perhaps necessarily, tolerated by the provisional government. During May and June the demagogical clubs had remained open, as in March and April, where the most subversive doctrines were continually preached. Paris teemed with journals filled with the most scandalous articles. The National Guard had become remiss, and of the two was rather inclined to "fraternize." Finally, the report of the dissolution of the national workshops read in the Assembly on the 23d gave the signal for an insurrection, which was only waiting for something of the kind to come to an issue.

On the 24th the executive commission, amidst the roar of cannon and rattle of musketry, resigned its power, in obedience to the wish of the Assembly, which immediately appointed General Cavaignac dictator, investing him with full civil and military authority. The general took his measures wisely. "It is not a riot that we have to suppress," said he; "we have to fight a battle; and not one battle only, but to go through a campaign against these formidable factions." The battle was a horrible one; it lasted three days and three nights; it had more than ten thousand victims, among whom were many representatives, several generals, and the good Archbishop of Paris.

We shall not undertake to give any details of this dreadful struggle, made by more than two hundred thousand men, in the name of the "Democratic and Social Republic:" it is enough to say that the insurgents, organized and marshalled with great skill, fought with extraordinary fanaticism, and came within an ace of overthrowing all order, society, and civilization in France,

perhaps throughout all Europe, for many a year. It is almost needless to add, that though active investigations were set on foot, and bitter debates ensued in the Assembly, when all was over, no Bonapartist influence was ever traceable in the complicated plot. But Ledru Rollin was openly accused, and Louis Blanc only escaped a warrant issued for his apprehension by flying to England.

General Cavaignac, having successfully fulfilled the purpose for which the dictatorship had been confided to him, resigned it to the Assembly, who, passing him a vote of thanks, declared that he had deserved well of the country, and unanimously yielded him the chief executive authority, with the power of electing his ministers. His government, powerfully seconded by the efforts of the Assembly, soon restored tranquillity. Public confidence began to spring up again, revolutionary turbulence lost most of its terrors, and Louis Napoleon thought the moment at last come when he could finally return to his country. A letter of his to General Piat on the subject, copied into every paper of the time, ran as follows : —

“ LONDON, *August 28, 1848.*

“ GENERAL: You ask me if I would be willing to accept the part of representative of the people in case of being reëlected; I answer yes, without hesitation.

“ To-day, as it has been unanswerably demonstrated that my election in four departments (Corsica not included) has *not* been the result of an intrigue, and that I have remained a total stranger to every manifestation, to every manœuvre of a political nature, I should deem myself negligent in my duty, if I did not respond to the appeal of my fellow-citizens.

"My name can no longer be made a pretext for disorders. I long, therefore, to return to France, and to take my seat in the midst of those representatives of the people who desire to organize the republic on broad and solid bases. To render a return to past forms of government impossible, there is but one way — to act better; you know, general, we really destroy only what we replace.

Receive, &c.

"L. N. B."

In the five departments in which he had been elected, new elections to appoint his successor were held on the 17th of September. The result was the same. In Paris he received 110,750 votes; in Yonne 42,086 out of 50,000 voters; and in the other three departments he was returned by equally triumphant majorities. Government opposition was now, of course, out of the question. He was quite aware of this, and though the decrees for his arrest still existed, and could be put into execution at any moment, he arrived in Paris on the 24th of September, without attempting incognito; the next day the journals announced that he was residing in the Hotel de Rhin, on the Place Vendome.

As soon as his return was known, crowds, attracted by curiosity, took their station under the windows of his apartments; his friends hastened to bid him welcome, and a number of distinguished men, belonging to all the elevated ranks of society, many of them old officers of the imperial armies, left their cards. On the 26th of September he appeared in the Assembly for the first time. He entered the hall, accompanied by two of his colleagues, M. Boulay (de la Meurthe) and M. Vieillard, his old friend. He took his seat on the benches of the Left.

His appearance produced a general movement of curiosity ; and the buzz of private conversations drowned for a while the voice of the speaker. All the interest of that sitting was thenceforward centred on the new representative : eyes were looking at him, and fingers pointed towards him, continually, from all parts of the Chamber. The clerk, charged to give the returns of the elections of Seine, Corsica, Yonne, Charente-Inférieure, and Moselle, was called to the tribune, where he read his report in the midst of a clamor that hardly permitted a word to be heard ; he concluded by saying that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, having been elected by five departments, was admitted into the Assembly as representative of the people, and the report was adopted without opposition.

As soon as the president proclaimed Louis Napoleon Bonaparte representative of the people, the prince arose, left his place, and ascended the tribune with a paper in his hand. All eyes were fixed on him. He was of the middle size, and appeared still young, being only forty years of age. He was dressed in black, with great elegance and taste, but with severe simplicity. His countenance wore an expression of melancholy, but his manners appeared easy and distinguished, and his voice was clear and sonorous as he read the following declaration : —

“ Citizen Representatives : I can no longer maintain silence regarding the calumnies of which I have been the object.

“ I find it necessary to express here aloud, and on the first day I am permitted to take a seat amongst you, the real sentiments which animate me, and which have always animated me.

"After thirty years of exile and proscription, I at last recover my country, and my rights as a citizen.

"The republic has granted me this happiness: let the republic then receive the oath of my gratitude, the oath of my devotion, and let my generous countrymen, who have brought me into this Assembly, be certain that I shall endeavor to justify their suffrages by laboring with you for the preservation of tranquillity—that first of the country's wants—and for the development of those democratic institutions that the people have a right to demand.

"For a long time I have been able to devote to France nothing but the meditations of exile and captivity. Now the career in which you march is open to me; receive me into your ranks, my dear colleagues, with the same sentiment of affectionate confidence that I bear towards you.

"My conduct, always inspired by duty, always animated with respect for the law, shall prove, in spite of all those who, by blackening me, attempt to proscribe me again, that no one here is more determined than I to devote himself to the defence of order, and to the consolidation of the republic."

These words were received in freezing silence by the greater part of the Assembly. *Republicans of yesterday*, as they were called, who expected to see the prince attempting some theatrical display, by way of reminding them of his uncle, were prepared to overwhelm him with bitter ridicule. But his prudent words, his unassuming and dignified manner, left them nothing to take hold of. On the other hand, however, the rest of the Assembly, and particularly the public in the galleries,

hailed his maiden speech with loud and favorable acclamations.

Next day the government journals said that *Citizen* Louis Napoleon had the look of an English dandy, and that his German accent was quite shocking to French ears. Of all these papers the *National* was the bitterest and most persistent in its attacks. It persecuted its victim, the *pretender*, as it called him, in the most merciless manner. But Louis Napoleon seemed to be hardly aware of its existence. Still, to give as little pretext as possible to assaults of this nature, he seldom or never made his appearance in the Assembly, unless when his presence was absolutely necessary. His absence was of course noticed, and often called forth unpleasant remarks. And yet, when he did attend, his presence, silent and reserved, was felt to be a weight, as it were, on the debates, almost giving them a character of personality.

In the mean time the assembly had been discussing the various provisions of the proposed constitution. One great point of interest was, whether the legislature should consist of two bodies, like the two houses of Congress in the United States, or only of a single chamber.

Able arguments were produced on both sides, but, unfortunately, the little benefit which the French had ever derived from the Senate had prejudiced them so much against the idea of an upper house, that it was finally decided by a large majority that there should be but one legislative chamber.

On the 5th of October, after a letter from the prince was read, announcing that, being elected for five departments, he had decided to sit for Paris, "the place of his birth," the Assembly took up the question regarding the manner in which the president of the republic should

be nominated. Three plans were offered ; first, to have the president appointed by the people by means of universal suffrage ; second, to have a sort of president of the council elected by the Assembly for an indefinite period, and removable at pleasure ; third, to have him irremovable, but to continue in power for a limited term. Though the two latter systems evidently made the president nothing but a puppet in the hands of the Assembly, they were not without many serious supporters.

Members, as De Tocqueville said, had come to this sudden change in their sentiments regarding universal suffrage only from fear of seeing Louis Napoleon elected president of the republic. But Lamartine, in an eloquent speech, unmasked the intrigue and crushed the plot. He showed that such a hole-and-corner election would have no weight whatever in the face of the country, justly provoked as she undoubtedly would be at such a spoliation of her electoral rights. He drew a picture of France entering the Assembly and addressing each member in his turn : “ *You* have elected the president because he is your relation, and have thus made the interests of your country subservient to your affections ; *you*, because he is your friend, and this friendship holds out hopes of your own greatness ; *you*, because he has promised you an embassy.”

The Assembly did itself justice ; members blushed at their indecision, and enthusiastic cheers greeted the fine personification of Lamartine. By a majority of six hundred and twenty-seven votes against one hundred and thirty, they decided that the president of the republic should be elected by the universal suffrage of the people.

This decision rendered the presidential election of Louis Napoleon a matter of certainty. Every day his



name gained fresh accessions of popularity in the provinces. The fiercest attacks made on him by the hostile journals only seemed to increase the number of his friends. Onslaughts in the Assembly were equally unsuccessful. On the 9th of October, in the presence of the prince, M. Antony Thouret, moved the following amendment: "No member of the families that have reigned over France shall be competent to be elected president or vice president of the republic." It excited a warm discussion. Some of its opponents disapproved of the amendment, because, in their opinion, every latitude should be left to the people, whose sound democratic sense was a sufficient guarantee that their votes would not be cast in favor of a pretender; others sustained that such an exclusion would be only an indication, a mark of distinction, serving rather as a pedestal than an obstacle.

The prince, who saw that it was meant as a personal attack, ascended the tribune. "I do not intend to speak against this amendment," said he. "Certainly I have been sufficiently rewarded by having my rights as a citizen restored to me, to entertain no other ambition.

"Neither do I come to exclaim for myself against the calumnies of which I am the object. But it is in the name of the three hundred thousand electors who have repeatedly honored me with their suffrages, that I come here to disclaim and disavow, utterly and emphatically, this name of pretender, that is being continually flung at my head." These words were received with great approbation, and induced Thouret to withdraw his amendment. The result of this battle was the final and definite repeal, on the next day, of the exile and proscription laws of 1816 and 1832 against the members of the Bonaparte family.

The papers of the 24th of October contained the following letter, signed by Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome:—

“ \* \* Some well-informed persons having warned representative Louis Bonaparte that certain simpletons were secretly laboring to get up a riot in his name, with the evident object of compromising him in the eyes of men of order, and of sincere republicans, Louis Napoleon considered it his duty to make M. Dufaure, minister of the interior, aware of these reports; he added that he utterly denied any participation in dealings so completely opposed to his political sentiments, and to the conduct which he has invariably pursued since the 24th of February.”

The appearance of this note was the occasion of a violent altercation in the Assembly.

M. Grandin asked the minister for some explanation regarding this note, and the information alluded to by the prince. M. Dufaure replied that he had heard himself of these reports, and added (sincerely or not) that he had immediately reassured Louis Napoleon, by telling him that he was misinformed, and that no plot of such a nature was in contemplation.

Hereupon Prince Napoleon stepped towards the tribune.

The following almost verbal report of the ensuing scene is not without interest.

*Voice on the Left* (to Prince Napoleon).—It is not your business to speak. The other one must speak—Louis Bonaparte!

*Several Members.*—He is absent.

Many members of the Left, rising from their seats, look in the direction of M. Louis Bonaparte's usual

place: they perceive that his seat is occupied by another representative. They cry out none the less to M. Napoleon Bonaparte, still making his way to the tribune: No, not you — the other one.

*M. N. Bonaparte* (in the tribune). — I do not come — (loud interruption).

*Numerous Voices.* — Not you! The other, the other!

M. N. Bonaparte struggles against the interruptions for a quarter of an hour; at last silence is restored a little, and he insists that he has a right to speak on the subject, since he is the author of the letter. He explains that it was sent to the papers with the particular object to prove that the Bonaparte family never had any thing to do, and never would have any thing to do, with riots. As soon as he leaves the tribune, representative Clement-Thomas occupies it.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — Gentlemen, I know it is a failing of mine to be always wanting to sift things to the bottom; and I am afraid this unpleasant feature in my character is going to make its appearance again to-day. But I must say, I am astonished that when a matter personally concerning *one* member of this Assembly is brought before you, it is *another* member that appears to answer for it. (Interruption — uproar.)

*A Voice.* — The other is absent.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — It is not the first time that I remark the absence of representative Louis Bonaparte from this Assembly.

*Several Members.* — What is that to you?

*A Member.* — This is scandalous.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — It is unnecessary for me to say that I speak here in nobody's name; no more for any party in the Assembly than for the government.

No one is responsible for my words but myself. Well, then, I repeat it, it is not the first time that I remark the absence of M. Louis Bonaparte. (New interruption.)

*A Voice.* — He is never here.

*Another Voice.* — He never votes.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — And when I say this I know why I say it. You cannot deny that there are certain members of this Assembly who are about to present themselves to the country as candidates for very elevated and very important offices. (Vociferous exclamations — many members grouped in the passage on the right of the tribune, among whom are MM. N. Bonaparte, Pierre Bonaparte, Pietri, &c., loudly interrupt the orator.)

*The President Marrast* (ringing his bell). — The representatives standing in the passage will please resume their seats.

By this time a violent agitation pervades the Assembly generally.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — I say that several members of this Assembly are about to offer themselves to the people. But it is not by hardly ever attending your sittings, it is not by taking no part in your voting, it is not by maintaining a reserved silence on whence we come, where we go, what we want, that we can pretend to gain the confidence of such a country as France. For my part, I suspect such tactics. (Interruption.)

*M. N. Bonaparte* (quickly). — Vote against them then.

*Some Members.* — Order, order!

*President Marrast.* — Monsieur Napoleon Bonaparte, if you interrupt again I shall call you to order.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — Since M. Napoleon Bonaparte is so ready to answer for his cousin —

*Several Voices.* — He has spoken for him already.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — I will ask him if it is not true that at this very moment agents are canvassing the provinces for M. Louis Bonaparte.

*Some Members.* — Well, what of that?

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — I will ask him if it is not true that in every department they are presenting him to the least enlightened portion of the population? And if this be true, I ask M. Napoleon Bonaparte, on what title does his cousin put forward his claims? (Interruption.)

*M. Isambert.* — On his title of citizen.

*M. N. Bonaparte.* — Are we here to discuss candidates for the presidency?

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — M. Isambert tells me that every citizen has a right to present himself to the suffrages of his country; but it seems to me that pretensions of this nature should be supported by *real* titles.

*M. Pierre Bonaparte.* — That is impertinent, sir.

*M. Pietri.* — Totally unbecoming! Who made you a judge of titles?

*M. N. Bonaparte* (indignantly). — We may be proscribed, but we must not be insulted! (General tumult.)

M. Clement-Thomas, seeing he has gone too far, leaves the tribune, amidst unmistakable marks of universal disapprobation.

Perhaps he wanted Louis Napoleon to send him a challenge.

“One would think,” said a general on his way home, after this scene, “one would think that M. Clement-Thomas has sufficient confidence in his sword to rely upon it altogether for simplifying the presidential election.”

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Louis Napoleon in the Assembly declares his willingness to accept the Presidential Candidacy. — The new Constitution proclaimed. — The rival Candidates. — Great Popularity of Louis Napoleon. — The live Eagle. — Manifesto of the Prince. — Opinions of Thiers and Girardin thereupon. — Disorders in Rome, and consequent Measures of the Government. — Letter of Louis Napoleon giving his Reasons for not voting. — 10th of December. — The Prince triumphant in Paris.*

BUT Louis Napoleon expressly forbade his relations and his friends to demand any satisfaction from M. Clement-Thomas for his outrageous attacks. He had determined to pursue another course. On the morning after the strange scene described in the last chapter, he repaired to the Assembly, and after the minutes were read, ascended the tribune. "Citizen representatives," said he, "the unpleasant incidents that occurred here yesterday, on my account, do not permit me to be silent. I deeply regret to be again obliged to speak of myself, for it is repugnant to my feelings to see personal questions incessantly dragged before this Assembly at a time when the most important interests of the country are at stake.

"Of my sentiments or of my opinions I shall not speak; I have already set them before you, and no one as yet has had reason to doubt my word. As to my parliamentary conduct, I will say that as I never permit myself the liberty of bringing any of my colleagues to an account for the course which he thinks proper to pursue, so, in like manner, I never recognize in him the right to call me to an account for mine; this account I owe only to my constituents. (Hear, hear!)

“Of what am I accused? Of accepting from the popular sentiment a nomination after which I have not sought. (Disturbance.) Well! I accept this nomination, that does me so much honor; I accept it, because three successive elections, and the unanimous decree of the National Assembly, reversing the proscriptions against my family, authorize me to believe that France regards the name I bear to be serviceable for the consolidation of society, now shaken to its foundations,” — (“Oh, oh!” interruption) — “and for the establishment and prosperity of the republic.

“How little do those who charge me with ambition know my heart! If an imperative duty did not keep me here, if the sympathy of my fellow-citizens did not console me for the violence of the attacks of some, and even for the impetuosity of the defences of others, long since would I have regretted my exile. (Citizens Clement-Thomas and Flocon start up to speak. Commotion. Cries of order! order!)

“I am reproached for my silence! Few persons here are gifted with the faculty of eloquent speech obedient to just and sound ideas. But is there only one way to serve our country? What she wants most of all is acts; what she wants is a government, firm, intelligent, and wise, more desirous to heal the evils of society than to avenge them — a government that would openly set itself at the head of just ideas, and thus repel a thousand times more effectually than with bayonets those theories which are not founded on experience and reason.

“I know that parties intend to set my path with pits and snares; but I shall not fall into them. I shall always follow, in my own way, the course which I have traced out, without troubling myself or stopping to see

who is pleased. Nothing shall interrupt my tranquillity, nothing shall induce me to forget my duty. I have but one aim ; it is to merit the esteem of the Assembly, and with this esteem, that of all good men, and the confidence of that magnanimous people that was made so light of here yesterday. (Exclamations.)

“ I declare then to those who may be willing to organize a system of provocation against me, that, henceforward, I shall reply to no questioning, to no species of attack, to none who would have me speak when I prefer to be silent. Strong in the approval of my conscience, I shall remain immovable amidst all attacks, impassible towards all calumnies.”

Such an explicit declaration excited general approval. However, Clement-Thomas exclaimed by way of triumph, “ I congratulate myself on my success in at last inducing citizen Louis Bonaparte to assume the attitude of candidate for the presidency. He has told us his title— what he calls his title— his name. It remains for us to see if France will find in a *name* sufficient warrant to determine her suffrages.” The citizen Flocon, too, attempted to excite the Assembly by pronouncing a discourse of a particularly goading nature ; but the prince listened to him from his seat without betraying the least emotion. Finally, the Assembly, passing to the order of the day, decided that the election for the president of the republic should take place on the 10th of December, 1848.

The new constitution was formally adopted on the 4th of November, by a majority of seven hundred and thirty-nine votes against thirty. Among its opponents were Victor Hugo, Proudhon, Montalembert, Berryer, and other remarkable men. On Sunday, the 12th, in



the midst of a violent snow storm, it was proclaimed on the Place de la Concorde with religious ceremonies of an imposing character. The Archbishop of Paris, many bishops, the members of the National Assembly, the authorities of the capital, deputations from all the departments, and an immense number of the National Guards of France, were present on the interesting occasion.

The Te Deum was chanted by a chorus of five hundred priests, assisted by five hundred professional singers. It was also read throughout the communes of France, and the country was soon to witness the regular workings of the new machine.

In the mean time the day was approaching when, for the first time, France would be called upon to elect a president of the republic. The all-absorbing question was, Who is it to be? The struggle between the rival ambitions was deadly. Six candidates took the field. The socialists, or red republicans, were split into three fractions; one, the democratic, having for its leaders those members of the National Assembly usually seated on the highest benches in the Chamber, and hence called the *Mountain*, adopted Ledru Rollin as its candidate. Another fraction of the socialists, composed principally of the partisans of communism, rejected Ledru Rollin, and nominated Raspail as their candidate, though he was at that time a prisoner in the dungeons of Vincennes. Finally, a third fraction, composed of the remains of the *workmen corporations*, fixed its choice on Louis Blanc. All, however, formed but a very small portion of the nation.

The moderates were also divided into three camps: First, that of Lamartine, consisting of the wrecks of the great national party that had placed every confidence in

him after the revolution of the 24th of February, supported by two journals of little circulation, the *Courrier Français* and the *Bien Public*; then, that of General Cavaignac, chief of the executive power, sustained by the *National*, the *Siècle*, the *Journal des Débats*, the *Ere Nouvelle*, &c.; and lastly, that of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, of which the principal journals were the *Presse*, the *Constitutionnel*, the *Evenement*, the *Liberté*, &c., all enjoying an immense circulation.

Between the two latter candidates the real contest lay. General Cavaignac was strongly recommended to the choice of France, by having been deemed worthy by the National Assembly of being invested with the supreme executive power. Moreover, his moderation of character; his resolute attitude in danger; the services he had rendered his country during the dreadful days of June; his conciliatory sentiments, shown in the choice of his ministry; his integrity; his stern republicanism; finally, his estimable personal qualities, and his great talents,—all pointed him out as a man deserving to occupy the loftiest position, and entitled to an immense suffrage.

His adversaries, however, pretended that he could have prevented the days of June, and that he had permitted the explosion only in order to arrive at the dictatorship. This accusation, inspired by a rancorous sentiment of personal animosity, appeared every day, and under every form, for more than a month, in the columns of the *Presse*, edited by Emile de Girardin. Though this able journalist's unscrupulous vindictiveness was well known, such imputations, copied into the other papers, and accompanied with all sorts of comments,

inflicted serious injury on the general's prospects.\* He was, moreover, mortally hated by the red republicans, who could never forgive him for dealing their mad projects such a stunning blow.

As to Prince Louis Napoleon, it could not be denied that he was the favorite candidate of the people,—the masses — particularly in the provinces. These simple, honest partisans of a *name* little cared whether they made him a president, a monarch, or an *emperor*, provided they had the pleasure of voting for him. This is not surprising. Even in this country, where the humblest citizen can pretend to some political knowledge, we know what mighty influence was wielded by the name of JACKSON. A letter, written on behalf of a committee of artisans, appearing about this time in the papers, well expressed the general sentiments of France towards Louis Napoleon. It contains such passages as the following :—

“The birth of M. Bonaparte shall never be a blemish in our eyes. His consanguinity with the emperor is his first title to our friendship and to the hopes we repose in him. It is in like manner with his name. This name shall be always the most beloved, the most known, the most respected by the people. It shall always be the most luminous, the most pure, the most glorious name in our history.

“It is a name on which humanity, in its magnificent future, shall pride itself.

“It is the name written in the heart of France—a universal name, venerated by all nations, and which French injustice alone would assail.

\* Girardin had been put in prison on the 24th of June, and kept there eleven days, by order of General Cavaignac.

"We will vote for M. Bonaparte, because we love Austerlitz more than civil war; because we prefer the campaigns of Egypt, of Italy, of Russia, of Spain, to the campaigns of June, and because the splendid recollections, that ought to be recalled and commemorated, are, in our opinion, victories, capitals conquered, kings vanquished, criminals pardoned, churches opened, wounds healed, eagles covered with noble dust, but not with defilement; and not massacres, not ignominies, not *fusillades*, spoliations, and vengeancees.

"We will vote for M. Bonaparte, because M. Bonaparte is not only a man, but a *principle* also, and because this principle is a symbol to France of glory for the past and harmony for the future."

The same language was held every where. The popularity of the name was boundless. Keen people, with an eye to business, did not fail to turn this enthusiasm to their own profit. Millions of busts, statues, medals, lithographs, &c., *said* to represent Louis Napoleon, but seldom bearing even a distant resemblance, soon flooded France. They were readily bought up: eager purchasers did not care to examine too closely. Even portraits of the Duke of Orleans, the Prince de Joinville, and other well-known public characters, found a ready sale, provided only that they wore a *mustache*, and were stamped with the magic name LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. Along the whole line of the Boulevards, from morning till night, nothing was heard but this name repeated in every variety of key, by newsboy, hawker, and pedler.

On the other hand, his adversaries were not idle. Ridicule, every where so powerful, is almost omnipotent in France. Of this the government party were not

sparing. Pamphlets written by the cleverest writers, songs composed by the most satirical poets and adapted to the most popular airs, caricatures executed by the most ingenious artists, were distributed every where, almost gratuitously. A favorite subject of sarcasm, upon which pen and pencil rang an infinite number of changes, was the live eagle, which, we remember, had been found in the English steamer, after the unlucky attempt at Boulogne. It was in vain for the prince's friends to explain the presence of the unhappy bird, by certifying that it had been brought on board by a domestic, without orders, and unknown to every body: the wits would not give up their fertile topic. But, of course, they did not always confine themselves to such legitimate subjects for raillery. Truth, justice, honor, and decency were too often sacrificed in their unscrupulous attacks. Of all participation, however, in such scandalous outrages, it is with real pleasure that we unreservedly acquit the honorable General Cavaignac. "Gentlemen," said he one day to some of his partisans that had made a wrong use of his name, "if I am never to be elected president of the republic, leave me, at least, the consolation of possessing the esteem of honest men."

The day appointed for the presidential election was approaching.

General Cavaignac refused to publish any manifesto to the electors; like Lamartine, he believed that his public acts were a sufficient manifesto in his favor. MM. Ledru Rollin and Raspail had already indemnified themselves for their certain defeat by filling their high-sounding manifestoes with every democratico-socialistic absurdity.

Louis Napoleon had been long requested by his polit-

ical friends to publish a clear, direct declaration of his principles, as some sort of reply to the calumnies of his adversaries, and he at last yielded to their appeal by writing the following address : —

*“ Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to his Fellow-Citizens.*

“ In order to recall me from exile, you elected me a representative of the people.

“ On the eve of the election of the chief magistrate of the republic, my name presents itself to you as a symbol of order and security.

“ These testimonies of a confidence so honorable to me are due, I am aware, much more to the name which I bear than to myself, who have as yet done nothing for my country ; but the more the memory of the emperor protects me, and inspires your suffrages, the more I feel myself called upon to make known to you my sentiments and my principles.

“ There must be nothing equivocal between us.

“ I am not an ambitious man, dreaming at one time of the empire and of war, at another of the adoption of subversive theories.

“ Educated in free countries, and in the school of misfortune, I shall always remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages and the will of the Assembly may impose upon me.

“ If I be elected president, I shall not shrink from any danger, from any sacrifice, to defend society which has been so audaciously attacked. I shall devote myself wholly, without reserve, to the confirming of a republic, which has shown itself wise by its laws, honest in its intentions, great and powerful by its acts.

“ I pledge my honor to leave to my successor, at the

end of four years, the executive powers strengthened, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished.

“Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people; and I pledge beforehand my coöperation with any strong and honest government which shall reëstablish order in principles as well as in things; which shall efficiently protect our religion, our families, and our properties — the eternal bases of every social community; which shall attempt all practicable reforms, assuage animosities, reconcile parties, and thus permit a country rendered uneasy by circumstances to count upon the morrow.

“To reëstablish order is to restore confidence, to repair, by means of credit, the temporary depreciation of resources, to restore the finances, and to revive commerce.

“To protect religion and the rights of families is to insure the freedom of public worship and education.

“To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the fruits of every man’s labor; it is to guarantee the independence and security of possession, the indispensable foundations for all civil liberties.

“As to the reforms which are possible, the following are those which appear to me to be the most urgent: —

“To adopt all those measures of economy which, without occasioning disorder in the public service, will permit of a reduction of those taxes which press most heavily on the people.

“To encourage enterprises which, whilst they develop agricultural wealth, may, both in France and Algeria, give work to hands at present unoccupied.

“To provide for the relief of laborers in their old age, by means of provident institutions.

“To introduce into our industrial laws ameliorations which may tend, not to ruin the rich for the gain of the poor, but to establish the well-being of each upon the prosperity of all.

“To restrict, within just limits, the number of employments which shall depend on the government, and which often convert a free people into a nation of beggars.

“To avoid that deplorable tendency which leads the state to do that which individuals may do as well, and better, for themselves; the centralization of interests and enterprises is in the nature of despotism; the nature of the republic rejects monopolies.

“Finally, to protect the liberty of the press from the two excesses which always endanger it—that of arbitrary authority on the one hand, and of its own licentiousness on the other.

“With war we can have no relief to our ills. Peace, then, would be the dearest object of my desire.

“France, at the time of her first revolution, was war-like, because others forced her to be so. Threatened with invasion, she replied by conquest. Now she is not threatened, she is free to concentrate all her resources to pacific measures of amelioration, without abandoning a loyal and resolute policy.

“A great nation ought to be silent, or never to speak in vain.

“To have regard for the national dignity is to have regard for the army, whose patriotism, so noble and so disinterested, has been frequently neglected.

“We ought, whilst we maintain the fundamental laws which are the strength of our military organization, to alleviate, and not aggravate, the burden of the conscription.



"We ought to take care of the present and future interests, not only of the officers, but likewise of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and prepare secure means of subsistence for men who have long served under our colors.

"The republic ought to be generous, and have faith in its future prospects; and for my part, I, who have suffered exile and captivity, appeal with all my warmest aspirations to that day when the country may, without danger, put a stop to all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil discords.

"Such, my dear fellow-citizens, are the ideas which I should bring to bear upon the functions of government, if you were to call me to the presidency of the republic.

"The task is a difficult one — the mission immense. I know it. But I should not despair of accomplishing it, inviting to my aid, without distinction of party, all men who, by their high intelligence or their probity, have recommended themselves to the public esteem.

"Besides, when a man has the honor to be at the head of the French nation, there is an infallible way to succeed, and that is, to desire to do so.

*"November 27, 1848."*

In the concluding sentence our readers will no doubt recognize a passage taken almost verbally from the Boulogne Proclamation.

Before sending this manifesto to the press, L. Napoleon wished to submit it to the inspection of M. Thiers and M. de Girardin. M. Thiers was first admitted; the prince commenced reading the document. When he came to the sentence, "I should consider it a point of

honor to leave to my successor, at the end of four years, authority confirmed, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished," M. Thiers showed uneasiness. "What do you mean?" he exclaimed. Blot out, blot out that imprudent phrase. Enter into no engagements of the kind. Promise nothing. Reserve every thing."

When the prince, alluding to his exile and captivity wished for the day when "the country could reverse all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of civil war,"—

"Another imprudence!" cried M. Thiers. "Talk not of amnesty when the blood of the battle of June is not wiped from the pavement; the Bourgeoisie would be in arms at the idea; it is all very well to be generous; what we now want is skill."

In a word, M. Thiers decided that Louis Napoleon's manifesto was destitute of common sense, and next day he sent him one of his own composition, revised by M. Merruan, a man of talent, and the chief editor of the *Constitutionnel*.

M. de Girardin now came. The prince set the two manifestoes before him, without saying which was his own, and asked his opinion.

"I think," answered the editor of *La Presse* when he had carefully read both over, "I think that one is true, like nature, the other feeble, like a copy traced by means of a pane of glass. Be yourself. There is no better way."

When Louis Napoleon mentioned the scruples of M. Thiers with regard to the two phrases alluded to, M. de Girardin replied in these terms:—

"Prince, this is serious. Do you really consider it a point of honor to leave to your successors, at the end of four years, an authority confirmed, liberty intact,

and a real progress accomplished? If you do, then retain the phrase; if not, strike it out at once." Louis Napoleon did not strike it out.\*

About this time the news of the murder of Rossi, and the flight of Pius IX., arrived in Paris, bringing grief and consternation to all good men. General Cavaignac immediately gave orders that three steam frigates should proceed at once to Civita Vecchia, to protect the person of the Holy Father, whose fate was not yet known, and to convey him to France if he were willing to accept the hospitality of the French republic. Though this order excited the indignation of many members of the Assembly, the majority approved by formal vote of the urgent measures taken by the general. At this vote Louis Napoleon was not present, and he wrote the following letter to the *Constitutionnel* to account for his absence: —

"MR. EDITOR: Understanding that my declining to vote on the question relating to the Civita Vecchia expedition has been made the subject of remark, I think it my duty to declare that, though altogether of the opinion that all proper measures for effectually securing the liberty and authority of the sovereign pontiff should be supported, I could not approve by my vote of a military demonstration that to me seemed dangerous, even for the sacred interests it is intended to protect, and of a nature to compromise the fate of Europe.

"Receive, &c.

"L. N. BONAPARTE."

In this letter many thought they could discover a secret leaning of the prince's towards the Roman insur-

\* *Portraits Politiques par de la Guerriere.*

gents ; and when it was heard that his cousin, the Prince of Canino, president of the Roman National Assembly, had put himself at the head of the new Roman republic, Louis Napoleon was openly accused of being in secret correspondence with him for the purpose of revolutionizing Italy. As a reply to these charges the prince wrote the following letter to the Pope's nuncio in Paris : —

“ MONSIGNOR : I am unwilling that you should give credence to the reports tending to render me an accomplice of the Prince of Canino's conduct at Rome.

“ For a long time I have had no intercourse with the eldest son of Lucien Bonaparte, and I deplore with all my soul that he has not perceived that the maintenance of the temporal sovereignty of the venerable head of the church is intimately connected with the lustre of Catholicity, as well as with the liberty and independence of Italy.

“ Receive, monsignor, the assurance of my sentiments of high esteem.

L. N. BONAPARTE.”

At last the important day came. The sky was wonderfully radiant, and the temperature mild for the 10th of December. The great civic act was performed everywhere with an ardor, an interest befitting the occasion. In the capital, and in the large towns generally, the electors proceeded to the ballot box grave and silent. In the rural districts, on the contrary, the enthusiasm was at its height. Whole townships in procession, headed by the *maire* and the *curé*, bearing flags and streamers, marched to the polls with shouts of joy and peals of music, and voted unanimously for Louis Napoleon.

Though it took some time to examine the returns, the result was not doubtful from an early moment. By the 14th, the scrutiny of the votes for the department Seine was finished, and the issue was immediately proclaimed in the grand hall of the Hotel de Ville. Louis Napoleon had obtained 198,484 out of 341,829; General Cavaignac 95,567; the rest were divided between Ledru Rollin, Raspail, and Lamartine.

Paris had given more votes to Raspail than to Lamartine!

The final result was not officially made known until the 20th of December.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

*The Inauguration. — The President's Address. — Difficulties of Louis Napoleon's new Position. — Was France really a Republic? — The new Constitution; its radical Defects. — The Ministry. — Resignation of the Minister of the Interior. — His Successor fails in his Attempt to suppress the Clubs. — Alarm of the 29th of January. — Programme of the Solidarité Republicaine.*

A COMMITTEE of thirty representatives had been appointed to examine the returns. On the 20th of December, 1848, the chairman, M. Waldeck Rousseau, proceeded to read the report amidst the profound silence of the Assembly.

"The Assembly," said he, "has called on the people to select the citizen who is to be the keystone of the republican arch. The nation has met; she has cast into the ballot box the testimony of her confidence. You

are now about to invest the man of her choice with the rights that belong to the truly popular dignity of president of the Republic. The voice of the people has spoken in the name of the entire country ; it is the sanction of their inviolable power."

At this moment Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte entered the hall by the passage on the president's right. The ribbon of representative hung from his button hole, and his breast was decorated with the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor. He took his seat among the benches of the extreme Right, the place usually occupied by Odillon Barrot. This step, announcing beforehand who was to be prime minister, created a marked sensation. M. Waldeck Rousseau, who had been interrupted for a moment, resumed : —

" Let us beware of substituting for the expression of the will of all, the desires of some and the regrets of others. These regrets should now cease, these divisions should be forgotten, and the zeal of all good citizens should sustain and support him whom the nation has chosen.

" The sum total of the votes cast for the nomination of the president of the republic is 7,327,245.

" Louis Napoleon has obtained 5,434,226 votes.

" General Cavaignac, . . . 1,444,107 "

" Ledru Rollin, . . . 370,119 "

" Raspail, . . . 36,920 "

" De Lamartine, . . . 17,219 "

" General Changarnier, . . . 4,690 "

" By the number of votes obtained, citizen Louis Bonaparte, then, is the elect of the French people. The executive power is to be intrusted to him by you, without opposition, with calmness and dignity, as becomes a great nation.

"Citizen representatives," said M. Waldeck Rousseau, terminating his report, "almost nine months ago the republic, proclaimed in this hall, came forth from the storms of the 24th of February; to-day you impose on your work the seal of public consecration."

General Cavaignac then ascended the tribune, and said, —

"Citizen representatives, I have the honor of informing the National Assembly that the members of the cabinet have just sent me their collective resignation. I come forward in my turn to surrender to the Assembly the powers with which it had invested me.

"You will understand, better than I can express, the sentiments of gratitude which the recollection of the confidence placed in me by the Assembly, and of its kindness towards me, will leave in my heart."

This short address was received with prolonged shouts of applause.

Armand Marrast, the president of the Assembly, having put the report of the committee to the vote, rose, and said, —

"In the name of the French people.

"Whereas citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, born in Paris, possesses all the qualifications of eligibility required by the 44th article of the constitution, —

"Whereas, in the election, open throughout the whole extent of the republic, he has received the absolute majority, — by virtue of the 47th and 48th articles of the constitution, the National Assembly proclaims him president of the French Republic from this day until the second Sunday of May, 1852.

"I now invite the president of the republic to ascend the tribune, and take the oath."

The prince slowly ascended the tribune, and turned his face towards the president, who, in a loud, calm voice, read the oath of fidelity to the constitution : —

“ In the presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, and to defend the constitution.”

“ I swear,” said the prince, earnestly, holding up his right hand.

“ I take God and man to witness the oath just sworn,” cried the President Marrast. “ It shall be inserted in the official report, in the *Moniteur*, and published in the forms prescribed by the public acts.” These words, which might be considered as rather uncalled for, produced an evident impression on all present ; but the new president of the republic took no further notice of it than to read the following inaugural discourse : —

“ CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES : The suffrages of the nation and the oath which I have taken command my future conduct. My duty is marked out ; I shall fulfil it as a man of honor.

“ I shall treat as enemies of the country all those who may attempt to change, by illegal means, what entire France has established.

“ Between you and me, citizen representatives, no real dissensions should exist : our wills, our desires are the same.

“ I wish, like you, to place society on its bases, to strengthen democratic institutions, and to try every means to relieve the sufferings of the generous and intelligent people that has just given me such a splendid mark of confidence. (Cheers.)

“ The majority which I have obtained not only fills



me with gratitude, but it shall impart to the new government the moral force without which there is no authority.

“With the reëstablishment of peace and order, our country can arise, heal her wounds, collect her stray children, and calm her passions.

“Animated with this conciliatory spirit, I have called around me men of honesty, talent, and patriotism, fully assured that, notwithstanding the differences of their political origin, they are determined to coöperate harmoniously with you in applying the constitution to the perfection of the laws, to the glory of the republic. (Marked approbation.)

“The new administration, in entering on business, must thank its predecessor for its efforts to transmit the power intact, and to maintain public tranquillity. (New applause.)

“The conduct of the honorable General Cavaignac has been worthy of the loyalty of his character, and of that sentiment of duty which is the first qualification of the head of a state. (Loud cheers.)

“We have, citizen representatives, a great mission to fulfil: it is to found a republic for the interest of all, and a government just, firm, and animated with a sincere love of progress, without being either reactionary or utopian.

“Let us be men of the country, not men of a party, and, with the assistance of God, we shall accomplish useful if not great things.”

Whilst the Chamber was still ringing with the prolonged shouts that welcomed this speech, the prince descended the tribune, went up to the seat of General Cavaignac, and shook him warmly by the hand. The

general received him as cordially, whilst the act was hailed with fresh demonstrations of applause from all parts of the house. The prince then told M. Marrast that M. Odillon Barrot was empowered to form the new cabinet, and that the names of the ministers would be published the same evening in the *Moniteur*. The president of the Assembly ordered the committee to conduct the president of the republic to the door of the Legislative Palace, and to do him the honors due to his rank. Several representatives joined the *cortège*, which passed between two lines of the National Guard: the new chief of the executive power entered his carriage, and escorted by General Changarnier and by General Lamoricière, rode to the Elysée Palace, which a decree had fixed upon as his place of residence. Thus ended the scene of the presidential inauguration.

So far we have seen Louis Napoleon struggling bravely and perseveringly against a host of obstacles. Now that he has surmounted them all, and that his admiring countrymen have placed him in the highest post of honor it was then possible to attain, we shall find him contending with difficulties of a different nature. His life is henceforward public, and his history is the history of France, if not of Europe. In this work it is not our intention to enter into the acts of his public life. The events that took place during his presidency would require a volume for themselves; and, besides their complexity, they are, as yet, too little removed from us in point of time to be viewed all together as a whole. From this want of unity the record becomes perplexing, if not uninteresting; and we shall therefore give the annals of the presidency very succinctly, aiming at the same time, however, at clearness and connection.

Louis Napoleon, at the beginning of his presidential career, found himself entangled in a web of embarrassments from which an escape could be effected only by the most exquisite prudence. His position may be realized by considering that he was expected to govern as a republic a country which was no republic. It was *called* a republic indeed, and possessed a constitution. But changing the name does not change the nature of things. She was not without, of course, some genuine republicans, but they were like a flake of snow in the ocean. Notwithstanding the recent transactions, France was at heart as little republican as ever; for any one can see that the revolution of February was not her act. It was the act of a few secret society leaders and "exalted" journalists in Paris, signally favored by circumstances. Louis Philippe, personally unpopular, in a little *émeute* lost his presence of mind, and his ministers were equally as incompetent in the trying moment. Instead of rallying the friends of order around him, and standing manfully at his post, as was a king's duty, the "Napoleon of peace" paralyzed the efforts of his troops, and disgracefully fled, leaving Paris virtually without a government, and at the mercy of a mob. It is certain that the cry of "republic," raised at that moment, saved the capital from destruction; and it is equally certain that France, astounded at the sudden turn affairs had taken, and not knowing what to do at the instant, by her silence manifested a sort of acquiescence. But this is no proof of her love of republican sentiments. We can suppose a somewhat similar case, though from its impossibility the comparison is not a good one. Let us imagine, however, Washington, the capital of the United States, to have become, by its wealth, intellect, commercial importance,

and centralization of power, possessed of as much influence over the cities of the other states as, say, Boston has over the smaller towns of Massachusetts. Suppose, then, that, one morning, some secret society upset the government in Washington, drove away the president, dissolved Congress, declared itself a provisional government, and by its underhand agency so distracted the councils of the other states that no immediate opposition could be attempted, and that even a momentary acquiescence in the usurpation could be extorted from us — in such a case would we cease to be republicans? Certainly not; for whatever misfortunes may beset the government, the *people* is still essentially republican. Republicanism is as natural here as the air we breathe. It was the only form of government possible here from the moment the flying European set his foot on our shores. It does not date from our revolution. Such a revolution was one more in name than in reality; it was merely the shaking of a dead branch off a vigorous sapling. It came as a matter of course. Our republic is no forced hothouse plant, no mushroom sprung up in a night time; it is now a goodly tree more than two hundred years old, with trunk of iron, with roots deeply embedded in a rocky soil, and with knotty branches, stubborn and unbending before the blast of the wildest tempest. May its shadow never be less! Most certainly, the accident of a midnight cabal seizing the government at Washington, holding it for a time, and even forcing us to bear with their antics for a time, would not change our republican sentiments. Many and many a year of suffering, misgovernment, and bloodshed should first elapse, and these should then be undeniably shown to be the inevitable consequences of republicanism, before our

sentiments and convictions regarding the perfect suitability of such a form of government for a country like this, could undergo a change.

It is not so with France. She was never republican. Neither the hideous reign of terror, nor the miserable government of the directors, could be called a republic. Whatever the monsters were, they could not stand. Nor could the republic of 1848 stand a week but for the hopes held out to agrarianism on the one hand, and to monarchism on the other, by the convocation of a National Assembly. And even after this body had met, and was laboring with all its ability for the amelioration of the country, was not France brought to the brink of destruction, and barely saved by the stern energy and Roman firmness of the dictator Cavaignac, at the expense of ten thousand lives? Who maintained republicanism, such as it was, for the next three years? The Assembly? France? No, Louis Napoleon. The Assembly only threw obstacles in the way of government, and France had little love for republicanism. France is not republican. Her wishes and tendencies are *democratic*, but herself certainly is not *republican*. She desires that the institutions of government be founded on a broad and liberal basis, and that all her children be protected and cherished without distinction; she wishes her people to be all possessed of the same rights; she wishes that every honorable career be open to every one, capacity being the only qualification; she desires the abolition of all privileges except those of merit and virtue; she wishes her affairs to be administered at home according to these principles, and abroad with due regard to her independence and greatness. She wishes to have some share in this direction of affairs too; only this

share must not be great enough to absorb her attention altogether; for she does not understand the business quite thoroughly; it was never her nature, and it has not yet become her habit.

Louis Napoleon, then, had to govern by accidentally-republican institutions a country not all republican. Did the Assembly assist him in this difficult task? On the contrary, pursuing a system of jealousy and suspicion from the very outset, it did every thing to thwart him. It could not do otherwise. It was not sincerely republican. It consisted of Legitimists, Orleanists, Republicans of yesterday, Revolutionists, Reactionaries, Socialists, Red Republicans, and Communists. It is not to be denied at the same time, that it contained some sincere men, of generous minds and philosophical temperament, who, from a peculiar course of studies, or from having witnessed Louis Philippe's government continually assailed, had seriously concluded that a republic was the only form of government that was possible in France, and the best suited to the progress of society. Had all the Assembly consisted of such men, we have no doubt the republic would have still stood its ground, and the president continued president and nothing more. He would not have changed the form of government, if for no other reason, simply because he could not; an Assembly of nine hundred sincere republicans would have argued the ability of a nation to govern itself.

Of the new constitution the following were the principal features. It recognized universal suffrage, every citizen being an elector at the age of twenty-one, and eligible to office at the age of twenty-five. The executive power was vested in the president, who was to be

elected for four years. Besides the Assembly, a council of state was constituted, consisting of forty members, elected by the Assembly, and holding office for six years. They were to be consulted in prescribed cases, but had no voice respecting the finances, the state of the army, or the ratification of treaties. The vice president of the Assembly was to be president of this council. The members of the Assembly were to be paid, receiving each twenty-five francs (five dollars) per day. The constitution could not be revised until it had been three years in operation.

But it contained many inherent defects that prevented it from working well, if not disabling it altogether. Adopted with too much haste, the lines of distinction between the duties and rights of the different branches of government had not been drawn with sufficient clearness ; a collision was thus rendered inevitable, and unconstitutionality became a matter of course. Then, instead of resting on broad, liberal bases, regarding and recognizing no particular person, many of its provisions seem to have been dictated through a jealousy and mistrust of Louis Napoleon. By the forty-fifth article the reelection of the president was forbidden until after an interval of four years ; the forty-eighth obliged him and the vice president, alone of all the functionaries of the government, to take the oath. The fiftieth interdicted his personal command of the army ; the fifty-fifth limited his right to pardon, and took away that of amnesty ; the sixty-eighth was directly threatening, &c. Then the president had no power to dissolve one Assembly, and thus obtain the sense of the country by the election of another.

The new president commenced his career by an act

intended to be conciliatory. He chose his ministry from all the ranks of the majority; Odillon Barrot, head of the cabinet, was minister of justice. The command of the army in Paris was confided to General Changarnier, who was already commander-in-chief of the National Guards. Public confidence soon commenced to rally; stocks of all kinds began to rise; extensive establishments gradually opened; business improved in the manufacturing districts; in short, every where signs of returning prosperity could be seen. On the 26th Odillon Barrot read the programme of the ministry to the Assembly. "The election of the 10th of December," said he, "has placed immense strength in the hands of the government; it is our duty to see that it does not go astray or prove abortive."

Although we cannot even allude to all the many variances and strifes that naturally arose between the president, his ministry, and the Assembly, until, after a period of three years, an end was finally put to them by the "coup d'état," we must not pass by an incident that created much talk at this time, and showed ministers conclusively the character of the man with whom they had to deal. "Monsieur," said the president to M. de Maleville, minister of the interior, on the same day that Odillon Barrot had completed the formation of the cabinet, "there are in the archives of the ministry of the interior sixteen cases containing papers relating to the affairs of Strasburg and Boulogne; you will send them to me at the Elysée as soon as you shall have taken possession of your ministry." This demand troubled M. de Maleville, for he knew that these documents contained all the secret manœuvres to which those attempts had given rise — the Boulogne affair especially at the



very time when himself was chief secretary to the minister of the interior. Having consulted some friends on the subject, he decided on putting the papers under seal, and depositing a list of their contents in charge of M. Hermann, his chief secretary. He eluded the repeated demands of the president by evasive replies. At last Louis Napoleon grew impatient, and seeing, moreover, that M. de Maleville thought proper to open all the telegraphic despatches himself, and even send replies without submitting them to his (the president's) inspection, he wrote him the following letter : —

“ELYSEE, *December 28, 1848.*

“M. LE MINISTRE: I asked the prefect of police if he did not occasionally receive reports on diplomatic affairs. He replied in the affirmative; and he added that he had addressed to you yesterday copies of a despatch from Italy. Those despatches, you will understand, ought to be directly forwarded to me; and I must express to you my displeasure at this delay in their communication.

“I request you, likewise, to send me the sixteen cases I have demanded. I wish to have them on Thursday. They contain documents relative to the affairs of Strasburg and Boulogne. I do not intend, either, that the minister of the interior should prepare the articles personal to myself. This was not the case under Louis Philippe, and should not be the practice now.

“Besides, I have not received for some days any telegraphic despatches. On the whole, I perceive that the ministers I have named wish to treat me as if the famous constitution of Sièyes was in vigor; but I will not suffer it.

"Receive, M. le Ministre, the assurance of my sentiments, &c.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

The result of this sharp communication was the resignation of M. de Maleville, who was immediately succeeded in the ministry of the interior by Leon Faucher.

The first act of this minister was an attempt to close the clubs. On the 26th of January, 1849, he brought forward a bill for that purpose, and urged its necessity. "The clubs," said he, "are the centres of the secret societies. Under their dissolving action no regular government is possible." But Ledru Rollin denounced the bill as a direct violation of the constitution, and the Assembly rejected it by a majority of seventy-six. Such a defeat so elated the Mountain that Ledru Rollin proposed the impeachment of the ministry; and the blow so disconcerted the latter that they came in a body to the president to hand in their resignation. "Not at all, gentlemen," said Louis Napoleon; "I will not accept your resignation; I rely on you; do you rely on me." And after some conversation on the circumstance in which he endeavored to inspire them with his own courage, he dismissed them, saying, "Changarnier has received his orders; the time of barricades is past."

In fact, early in the morning of the 29th of January the citizens of Paris were suddenly awaked by the drums beating to arms. The streets were immediately filled with troops. "Ah, it is come at last!" is the cry. "The Assembly is attacked. A coup d'état." No, it is simply some precautionary movements occasioned by disturbances among the Garde Mobile. This body, consisting principally of young men belonging to the poorer classes of Paris, instituted by Lamartine when he was

at the head of the provisional government, though it had rendered important service on several occasions in the suppression of disorder, had latterly become somewhat dissatisfied with the attempts made by government towards its reorganization, and openly threatened to appeal to force. It was necessary to bring the malcontents to their senses by an energetic demonstration. The idea completely succeeded, and order was no further troubled.

But it was soon known that the previous night several representatives had been arrested at the head quarters of the *Solidarité Republicaine*, one of the latest and most influential of the secret societies, and that the Garde Mobile had not been the only cause of the disturbance. Among the papers seized there at the same time was the following, containing the principal favors which the members of the democratic republic proposed to confer upon France : —

“Dissolution of the National Assembly ; establishment of a committee of public safety ; annulment of the constitution ; imprisonment of the Bonaparte family ; suppression of the liberty of the press for two years ; suppression of individual liberty for three months ; trial by commission of all the officers and magistrates who had taken part in the condemnation of the prisoners of June, 1848 ; establishment of paper money to supply the revenue ; trial of every minister since 1830 ; the right to labor ; dissolution of the National Guard ; adoption of the red flag with the triangle *egalitaire* ; progressive tax ; confiscation of the property of all that should emigrate, and of those who should be condemned by the revolutionary tribunal.”

This was the programme that was to inaugurate the victory of “the people.”

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*Extent of the Conspiracy. — The Proposition Râteau. — Propagandism of the Red Republicans. — Committee of the Street Poitiers. — Severe Letter from the President to his Cousin Napoleon. — Expedition to Rome. — Divisions in the Assembly. — New Elections, and Successes of the Mountain. — The President's Message. — The Red Republicans, headed by Ledru Rollin, attempt another Insurrection, but are completely discomfited. — Oudinot besieges and takes Rome.*

NEXT day the radical journals accused the president of having fabricated a conspiracy, in order to play the part of deliverer, and to have himself appointed dictator, by means of the army. But news from the departments proved the reality of a conspiracy, which was only waiting the signal from Paris to burst forth at different points over the country. At Metz, Perpignan, and elsewhere, seditious manifestations had occurred; the wildest reports had been circulated through the east and south; but despatches announcing the real state of things in Paris soon restored order. This was the first attack made on the president by the red republicans.

One of the immediate effects resulting from the triumph of the government was the final passage by the Assembly of a motion to dissolve, called the Râteau proposition. The Assembly, having framed a constitution, the ostensible purpose for which it had been elected, should have retired long since to give way to the new Assembly, called the Legislative, to be elected according to the new electoral laws; but, instead of doing so, it had protracted its session, day after day, under the pretence of completing certain organic laws, pleading in justifica-

tion some article in the constitution. The country, however, becoming tired of the continual quarrelling, and eager for the new elections, had sent in thousands of petitions, insisting on a dissolution. These the Assembly, so far, had contrived to disregard; but, after the 29th of January, the pressure from without became so strong that Râteau's proposition was at last agreed to, the Assembly defining the period of its own dissolution, and that of the meeting of its successor. Its last act of hostility to the government was the abolition of the tax on liquors, which would diminish the revenue of the succeeding year by more than a hundred millions of francs.

The 29th of January, however, had dealt only an insignificant blow to the red republican party. Stunned for a moment, it was soon as active at work as ever. Force having this time failed, a new and terrible engine was now put into operation, in order to render it more successful on the next occasion. This was the organization of the best writers that could be found, to be employed in composing works exclusively devoted to the propagation of socialist principles. These were to be distributed, at little or no price, all over the country, especially among that portion of the population which was the most ignorant, the least intelligent, and, of course, the most accessible to violent and vindictive passions. These publications, whose existence was hardly known to the public generally, never being advertised, or seen in a respectable bookstore, were soon to be found in the peasant's hut, the artisan's workshop, and even in the soldier's sentry box. They all turned, so to speak, in the narrow circle of those ideas that pervert simple, credulous minds, inspiring them with sentiments of envy, selfishness, and cruelty, impelling them to forget all

moral and religious duties, and moulding them into the blind instruments of social disorder and civil war. Though different in appearance, and bearing different names, in substance they were the same. They were generally almanacs, catechisms, dialogues, pamphlets, discourses, obscene songs, or savage poems. Their influence for evil was incalculable. Artisans were easily seduced by the promises held out of the "good time coming," when money was to be plenty, and labor light. Poor peasants desired nothing better than a division of property, and their own share in the lands they cultivated. The soldiers were less tractable; their experience of republicanism had not been very agreeable, and they never thought of "fraternization" without disgust. Still, even in the army socialistic principles progressed rapidly.

Such a state of things on the eve of a general election was alarming. The moderate party endeavored to counteract it. At first they conceived the idea of writing down the socialist tracts by the publication of opposition tracts, inculcating the principles of law and order, and to be disseminated gratuitously. A subscription amounting to a million francs was immediately raised, but the plan did not succeed; for though the little books were distributed in great numbers, nobody would read them. Literary warfare thus proving unavailing, the committee of the street Poitiers, as it was called, thought of strengthening itself by an alliance with the executive. With Thiers at their head, they surrounded Louis Napoleon, assuring him that they were his best friends, and that if they were not returned, he could not maintain his ground. They added gravely that no other head of the govern-

ment was possible, and that it was absurd to think of either of the Bourbon dynasties.

The president, knowing that much of what they said was true, did not impugn the rest, and accepted their proffered assistance. His only chance of maintaining tranquillity in the country lay in playing one great party against the other; and though well aware that the royalists were no friends of his, he knew them generally to be honorable men, and he readily promised them all the influence at the command of the government. Thus was formed the electoral committee of the street Poitiers. Abbaticucci, a friend of the prince's, strongly combated the idea of creating this committee. "They will take your flag," he said, "to conquer with; but after the victory they will turn round against yourself."

The intentions of the royalist parties at this period seem to have been the following: They would maintain Louis Napoleon in his seat until such time as they considered themselves strong enough to overwhelm the different shades of the republicans. This crisis, resulting from incessant ruptures among their opponents, and from the growing reaction of the nation in favor of monarchy, they expected would soon arrive. Perhaps, however, they would wait until the expiration of the president's term. Then, through their majority in the Assembly, and their influence in the country, they were confident of quietly replacing him by the Count de Chambord, son of the Duke de Berri, and the head of the elder branch of the Bourbons, or else by the Prince de Joinville or the Count of Paris, on whose respective availability the Orleanist party was not quite agreed.

From the prince himself they seemed to apprehend no opposition whatever. His coldness, reserve, and

silence they mistook for stupidity. His utter incapacity was to them a foregone conclusion.

"Thank Heaven, we shall soon get rid of him," said an Orleanist one day, in presence of Thiers, "and that easily. He is a madman, possessing only the stubbornness of infatuation. We will not do him any harm, however ; we shall only send him to London to be shut up in Bedlam."

Thiers only shrugged his shoulders with a look of tender compassion for the speaker.

It was so at the balls and banquets given at the Elysée. At first regarded very shyly by the aristocracy of Paris, these soon became quite the fashion, and, notwithstanding the insufficiency of space, they were allowed to rival in brilliancy and splendor the grandest festivities of the Tuileries. They were, however, so expensive, that the prince's private fortune was soon exhausted. "Louis Napoleon ruins himself to do the honors of the presidency," exclaimed, one evening at the Elysée, an eminent banker of Paris, who had not disdained to be one of his guests. "At the expiration of his term we shall send him to prison for debt."

The president was of course well aware of the real state of things, and fully understood what he had undertaken to do on entering into an alliance with the committee of the street Poitiers. But though it laid him still further open to the charge of incompetency, he strenuously exerted himself, during the elections, in favor of the royalists, and went so far as to sacrifice even personal friends to secure the return of M. Thiers and M. Berryer.

A remarkable letter appeared at this time in the papers, which we cannot omit. Young Napoleon, Jerome's son,



had been appointed ambassador to Spain. This prince, little gifted with the prudence of his cousin, and possessing a remarkable personal resemblance to his uncle, the great Napoleon, the republicans had already fixed upon as a serious rival with the president for the imperial fanaticism of the people, to be held over him, as it were, *in terrorem*. Whether intending so or not, Napoleon by his language sometimes exposed his family to violent attacks from its watchful enemies, and thus brought upon himself sharp rebukes from his cousin. The following letter, appearing in a Bourdeaux paper, dated April 15, fully explains itself.

"ELYSEE NATIONAL, April 10, 1849.

"MY DEAR COUSIN : It is said that on your way through Bourdeaux you made use of words capable of sowing dissension even among the best intentioned. You are reported to have said that I did not follow my own inspirations because I was ruled by the leaders of the reactionary movement ; that I was impatient of the yoke, and wanted to shake it off ; and that, in order to assist me at the approaching elections, it was necessary to send to the Chamber men hostile to my government, rather than those belonging to the moderate party.

"Such an imputation coming from you cannot but surprise me. You should know me well enough to be aware that I never brook the ascendancy of any one, and that I struggle incessantly to govern for the interest of the people, not for the interest of a party. I honor those men who by their capacity and experience can give me good counsels ; but if I receive daily the most contradictory advice, I obey nothing but the impulses of my own head and heart.

"Censure of my political conduct was last of all to be expected from *you*, who found fault with my manifesto, because it had received the entire sanction of the chiefs of the moderate party. This manifesto, from which I have not deviated, still continues to be the conscientious expression of my sentiments.

"My first duty was to reassure the country. Well, confidence has been increasing during the last four months. Every day has its own task. Security first, reform afterwards.

"The approaching elections, I entertain no doubt, by strengthening the republic in order and moderation, will hasten the period of all possible reforms. To bring all the old parties together, to reconcile them, to unite them, should be the constant object of our exertions. Such is the mission attached to the great name we bear; and it would prove a failure if it served to divide and not to rally the supporters of the government.

"For all these reasons I cannot approve of your being nominated by a score of departments at once; for, consider it well, under the protection of your name, it is expected to send to the Assembly representatives hostile to the government, and to discourage its best friends by wearying the people with multiplied elections which should be made over again.

"Henceforward, then, I hope, my dear cousin, you will use every exertion to enlighten the people regarding my real intentions, and to avoid furnishing grounds, by inconsiderate expressions, for absurd calumnies which go so far as to assert that sordid self-interest alone rules my conduct. Nothing, repeat it aloud, shall trouble the serenity of my judgment or shake the strength of my resolution.

"Free from every mental restraint, I shall walk in the path of honor, with my conscience for my guide; and when I shall relinquish the authority, if I may be reproached for faults fatally inevitable, I shall at least have performed what I sincerely consider my duty.

"Receive, my dear cousin, the assurance of my friendship.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

Before dismissing this affair, it may be added that the original letter and the journals publishing it reached Madrid at the same time, and the prince immediately started for Paris to justify himself with the president. But he was soon informed that his functions as ambassador of Spain had ceased, for having left his post without permission. The punishment was severe, and the royalists were by no means displeased at witnessing this commencement of disaffection between the two chiefs of the Napoleon dynasty.

Complacent as the moderate party had found the president on this occasion, his independent judgment and stern resolution were fully displayed at the same period in a signal and well-known instance. Many words are not necessary to tell the familiar tale.

Pius IX., on ascending the pontifical throne, (June 16, 1846,) commenced a system of reform in his dominions, which for eighteen months he continued to pursue in spite of every obstacle, never resting until he had established a constitutional or representative system of government. This course neither pleased the conservatives nor satisfied the liberals. The former considered it too rapid to be safe, and nothing short of their own absolute supremacy could satiate the latter.

Crowds of Italians, Germans, and Frenchmen, refugees from their own country for the troubles they had caused there, took shelter in Rome, swelling the ranks of the "patriotic" party, and rendering it not only more audacious and ambitious, but altogether uncontrollable. Instead of waiting patiently for the ameliorations assured to them by the virtues and prudence of the Pope, the pretended leaders drove the people to rebellion. Rossi, the minister of foreign affairs, was assassinated in the open day, just as he was leaving his carriage to enter the Chamber of Deputies. Shortly after, the mob besieged the Quirinal, the Pope's residence, and compelled the Holy Father to accept a ministry named by themselves. This measure not satisfying them, and finding his life in imminent danger, the Pope at last quitted his palace, on the 24th of November, 1848, and took refuge with the King of Naples at Gaeta. As soon as this was ascertained, the insurgents, led chiefly by Mazzini, and the Prince of Canino, son of Lucien Bonaparte, and first cousin of Louis Napoleon, formed a provisional government, proclaimed the Roman republic on the 8th of February, 1849, and the fall of the temporal power of the Pope.

But Europe still recognized its existence, and Austria threatened the new republic on one side, Naples on the other. The republicans called on their French "brothers" for aid. France did interfere, but it was in a manner totally unexpected.

France was still a Catholic country. But even if she were not, here was an act of injustice too flagrant, and indeed too dangerous, to be overlooked. She saw a horde of adventurers, most of them fugitives from the punishment their turbulent conduct had deserved, gen-

erously received by one of the most benevolent sovereigns that ever existed, and then taking such advantage of circumstances as to instigate his mercurial subjects to dethrone him, and establish a form of government of the *name* even of which they did not know the meaning. Such a fact she had heard denominated republicanism ; but this did not prevent her from considering it the foulest robbery and open violation of the most sacred rights, demanding instant and thorough redress. Was she to see the interests of the Holy Father sacrificed to his heroic exertions in favor of real liberty ? Was she to behold that glorious city of Rome, so long the centre of Christendom, all at once become the sheltering nest of a brood of malignants, whence, under the canting names of "Fraternity" and "Equality," they could in comparative security disseminate their pestilent plans for the subversion of all government ?

However, on this point the Assembly was far from unanimous ; the Left and the Mountain even tried to have the "Roman Republic" recognized. And though this attempt failed, and though the general feeling of the country on the question was well known, still it was with extreme difficulty that the executive succeeded in obtaining a bill for the partial and temporary occupation of a portion of Italy with troops for the purpose of supporting the negotiations. The expedition to Civita Vecchia was then resolved upon. A body of thirty-five hundred men was detached from the army of the Alps, and placed under the command of General Oudinot. Little expecting serious resistance, they proceeded unsuspectingly to the walls of Rome, when, on the 30th of April, they were suddenly attacked and driven back with great loss.

We can still well remember the universal emotions of joy and chagrin with which the unexpected intelligence of this check was respectively received. In the Assembly the republicans could not restrain their delight. Every advantage was taken of the temporary depression caused by the reverse, and the ministry, who were not backward in trying to shift the blame off themselves and the chief of the executive, were openly censured. It was, moreover, decided to send an ambassador extraordinary to Civita Vecchia, with orders to enter into negotiations with the Triumvirs and the Roman Assembly, regarding the surrender of Rome. This was not the reënforcement that the unhappy General Oudinot had demanded.

But Louis Napoleon, far from imitating the cowardice of his ministers, or the indecision of the Assembly, wrote the following letter to the commander-in-chief of the expeditionary army of Italy:—

“MY DEAR GENERAL: The telegraphic intelligence announcing the unforeseen resistance you have met under the walls of Rome has given me much pain. I had expected, you are aware, that the inhabitants of Rome, opening their eyes to evident reason, would receive with joy an army that came amongst them to accomplish a benevolent and disinterested mission.

“This has not been the case; our soldiers have been received as enemies. Our military honor is pledged. I shall not suffer it to be injured. You shall have the reënforcements. Tell your soldiers that I appreciate their valor, and share in their trouble, and that they can always rely upon my support and my gratitude.

“Receive, my dear general, &c.

“LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.”

M. De Lesseps, the envoy extraordinary, was forthwith sent to Rome; but whilst he uselessly lost a month expostulating with the exulting Triumvirs, who, acting in concert with the French revolutionists, had been strongly advised to gain time, the army received the necessary reënforcements, together with a formidable artillery. The commander-in-chief soon established the centre of his operations on the left bank of the Tiber, and on the 1st of June, a telegraphic despatch recalled M. De Lesseps and ordered General Oudinot to attack Rome.

In the mean time the elections had been held on the 13th of May, 1849, and the Legislative Assembly, consisting of seven hundred and fifty members, opened its session on Monday, the 28th. The moderate party could count four hundred and fifty votes, but the mountain had obtained many victories. One hundred and eighty-two representatives ranged themselves under its banners, and Ledru Rollin, its chieftain, had been returned by five departments. This impetuous leader was so intoxicated with his success, that, it is said, he was often heard to exclaim on the day preceding the opening of the Assembly, "In a month I shall be dictator or shot!"

The parties had hardly come face to face when the mutual attack commenced. Next day it was renewed with tenfold violence. The scene was fearful. Even the moderate party ran such riot in the recrimination and abuse of their adversaries that they provoked a remonstrance from Marshal Bugeaud. The hoary head of the old general appeared for a moment in the tribune whilst he launched at the "Order party" the expression so full of meaning —

"Gentlemen, the majority is bound to more moderation than the minority!"

On the 7th of June the president sent in his message. Of this remarkable document we have room but for a few extracts. It thus commenced:—

"**MESSIEURS THE REPRESENTATIVES:** The constitution enjoins on the president of the republic to present to you, every year, a statement relative to the general condition of the affairs of the country.

"This obligation, whilst permitting me to lay before you truth in its simplicity and facts in their instructiveness, also allows me to speak of my conduct in the past and intentions for the future, and with it I now comply.

"My election to the first magistracy of the republic gave rise to hopes which have not yet been fully realized.

"Until the day that you assembled in this hall, the executive power had not enjoyed the plenitude of its constitutional prerogatives. In such a position it was difficult to proceed confidently.

"Nevertheless I have remained faithful to my manifesto.

"To what have I pledged myself when accepting the suffrages of the nation?

"To defend society, so daringly attacked;

"To strengthen a wise, great, upright republic;

"To protect families, religion, property;

"To promote every possible improvement and economy;

"To protect the press against despotism and licentiousness;

"To diminish the abuses of centralization;

"To efface the vestiges of our civil discords;



"In fine, to adopt towards foreign governments a policy without arrogance, as well as without weakness.

"Time and circumstances have not permitted me to accomplish all these engagements ; still great progress has been made in this direction."

Then, having traced a pretty full picture of the internal and external condition of France, he announces his policy. Among other practical reforms, he promises a law regarding institutions for assisting and improving the condition of the laboring classes ; another regarding the mortgage system, and to facilitate loans ; others regarding asylums for officers and private soldiers ; and others for the more effectual protection of the poor. These promises have been all kept.

The message thus concludes : —

"Under the banner of the republic, and on the platform of the constitution, I call around me all those who are devoted to the safety of the country. On their assistance and intelligence I rely to enlighten me, on my own conscience to guide me, and on the protection of God to enable me to accomplish my mission."

This document was well received throughout France, but it had little effect on the Mountain party. On the 11th of June Ledru Rollin mounted the tribune, and accused the president and ministry of having violated the fifth article of the constitution by misapplying the Roman expedition. Apparently the favorable moment for making the attack had now come ; for, the same morning, the partisan journals had announced that France in mourning was about to bring citizen Bonaparte to account for the blood of her children. Odillon Barrot attempted a feeble reply, which only brought Ledru Rollin back to the charge with increased fury. Carried

away by his vehemence, he exceeded all bounds. "Yes," he cried, "the minister who ordered an expedition to Rome, and who did not direct it to act for the interest of the Roman republic, shall henceforth bear a mark of blood on his forehead!" Such language was received with roars of derisive laughter. But this only excited the orator's ardor. "The constitution," he exclaimed in a voice of thunder, "has been violated! We shall defend it by every means in our power, even with arms!"

The challenge was repeated by the Mountaineers, who, with vociferous acclamations, accompanied the fiery tribune to his seat, and the debate was adjourned amid terrible tumult.

Next day was spent in preparation on each side, and on the 18th the battle commenced.

It was the demagogical journals of that day that sounded the tocsin of insurrection. At the head of their columns appeared two manifestoes. The first, signed by a hundred representatives, declared that the term of the president, the ministry, and the majority of the Assembly had been brought to an end by the Roman expedition, and called on the National Guard, the army, and the people to rise in arms. The second, emanating from the journalists, was thus conceived:—

"The president of the republic and the ministers are without the pale of the constitution.

"That part of the Assembly which, by voting, has rendered itself their accomplice, is also without the pale of the constitution.

"National Guards, arise!

"Let the workshops be closed!

"Our brethren of the army! remember that you are citizens, and, as such, that your first duty is to defend the constitution.

"Let the entire people rise!"

Is it necessary to give the details of this sorry day? Our readers can hardly have forgotten the incidents of this *pacific*, this *legal* demonstration. An immense column of the "entire people," bearing all kinds of socialist emblems, not forgetting the red flag, started from the Chateau d'Eau, and advanced along the Boulevards — meeting, however, generally, only with a disdainful silence. Suddenly, at the crossing of the Rue de la Paix, General Changarnier, followed by four battalions and eight squadrons, cut the unwieldy column in two, and dispersed the "orderly" citizens through the neighboring streets, where, at last throwing off the mask of "legality," they ran around, crying, "*To arms!*" But it was all a burlesque. Every one, except those immediately concerned, kept within doors, or if any of the National Guards did take arms, it was to range themselves at once under the government standards. The leaders of the insurrection, Ledru Rollin, Considerant, &c., held a meeting in the conservatory to establish a provisional government; but they were soon compelled to make their escape through a window. They fled to England, leaving their unfortunate accomplices exposed to the vengeance of the law.

General Changarnier was completely successful in his measures of suppression. By four o'clock every thing was quiet, and the president, accompanied by his staff, rode along the whole length of the Boulevards, loudly cheered by the people, who were delighted to have es-

caped, almost bloodlessly, a repetition of the terrible scenes of June, 1848. Next morning the following proclamation was to be seen all over Paris: —

*“ The President of the Republic to the French People.*

“ Some factious men presume once more to lift the standard of revolt against a legitimate government — legitimate, because it is the production of universal suffrage. They accuse me of having violated the constitution — me, who have patiently endured for six months all their sneers, their calumnies, their defiances.

“ The majority of the Assembly itself is the constant theme of their outrages.

“ The accusation brought against me is only a pretext. Of this the proof is, that those who attack me now persecuted me with the same hatred, and with the same injustice, at the time when the people of Paris nominated me as their representative, and the people of France as president of their republic.

“ This system of agitation maintains a state of uneasiness and mistrust that entails misery.

*“ It must cease.*

“ It is time for the good to take courage, and the wicked to tremble.

“ The republic has no enemies more implacable than those men who, by perpetuating disorder, compel us to change France into a vast camp, and our projects for amelioration and progress into preparations for defence.

“ Elected by the nation, the cause which I defend is your own. It is that of your family as of your property; of the poor as of the rich; that of civilization, in whole and in part.

“In my efforts to render it triumphant nothing shall force me to recoil.

“LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.”

Next day telegraphic news came that the insurrection at Paris was only part of the vast conspiracy which was spread throughout France. At Lyons the slaughter had been terrific before the flag was pulled down: the battle lasted two days and two nights in succession; forty thousand workmen having sworn to bury themselves and their families in the general wreck sooner than surrender. Of such awful, yet totally fruitless effusions of human blood, it grieves us to think how often the noble soil of France has been the scene. Except at Lyons, however, all the anarchical attempts made at this time had proved completely abortive.

On the very day, the 13th of June, that the red republicans had so signally failed in Paris, General Oudinot, before resuming operations against Rome, once more summoned the “republic” to open the gates of the city to the French army. But Mazzini, every day expecting *consoling tidings* from France, had no thought of surrender; and even when the discouraging news of Ledru Rollin’s failure reached him, he inspirited his followers with an energy not always attending a better cause. For seventeen days and seventeen nights the fire continued on both sides, and still the besiegers would not discharge a bomb on the city.

“The president,” wrote the minister of war to General Oudinot, “intends that the monuments of Rome, belonging to the admiration of all civilized people, shall be honored and protected: act so, that art and history

may not have occasion to deplore the ravage inseparable from a siege."

When it was seen what would be the result of the last assault by the bastion at St. Pancras gate, the president wrote again to the commander-in-chief, "If you are forced to carry the city by assault, remind your soldiers that they are not at war with the inhabitants of Rome, but with their oppressors and their real enemies. Burn more powder if necessary. Put off the capture of the city a day or two, to spare the blood of our brave fellows."

At last, Mazzini and Garibaldi, seeing they could hold out no longer, fled with three thousand followers, on the 3d of July, and the French, entering the Eternal City, immediately proclaimed the reëstablishment of the Papal authority.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

*Affairs in Rome.* — *Letter of Louis Napoleon on the Subject.* — *Resignation of the Minister of Public Instruction.* — *Adjournment of the Assembly.* — *State of Parties.* — *Increasing Popularity of Louis Napoleon among the Army and the People.* — *The Insurgent of June.* — *Railroad Festivities.* — *The European Powers.* — *Return of the Assembly.* — *Debate on the Roman Letter.* — *Difficulty of the Ministers.* — *Duel between Thiers and Bixio.* — *Victor Hugo.* — *Louis Napoleon dismisses his Ministers.*

THOUGH the authority of Pius IX. was now proclaimed in Rome, many circumstances prevented him from returning immediately to his dominions. In the mean time, he intrusted the care of government to a

commission consisting of three cardinals, named Casoni, Alfieri, and Della Genga. These commissioners, at no time well disposed to republicanism, at least such republicanism as they had hitherto witnessed, and, naturally enough, strongly prejudiced in favor of old established customs, moreover, horrified at the excesses they had lately seen committed under the name of liberty, now thought it their duty to go almost to the other extreme. They dismissed all the functionaries appointed since the Pope's flight, and would have declared the paper money issued by the republican government valueless, but for the intervention of Pius IX., who could not bear to see the misery to which numbers of poor people holding those bills were certain to be reduced by such a measure. However, though declared entitled to legal circulation, they were depreciated by a third.

Louis Napoleon, hearing of these and other steps of a more reactionary nature taken by the commissioners, wrote the following letter to Colonel Ney, his orderly officer at Rome:—

“ELYSEE NATIONAL, *Aug. 18, 1849.*

“MY DEAR NEY: The French republic has not sent an army to Rome to smother Italian liberty, but, on the contrary, to regulate it by defending it from its own excesses, and to give it a solid basis by restoring to the pontifical throne the prince who had boldly placed himself in the front rank of all useful reforms.

“I learn with pain that the intentions of the Holy Father, and our own action, remain sterile in the presence of hostile passions and influences. As a basis for the Pope's return people want proscription and tyranny. Tell General Rostolan from me, that he is to allow no action to be performed under the shadow of the tricolor that could distort the nature of our intervention.

"I thus sum up the reëstablishment of the Pope's temporal power: general amnesty, secularization of the administration, Code Napoleon, and liberal government.

"I was personally hurt, when reading the proclamation of the cardinals, to see that there was no mention made of the name of France, or of the sufferings of our brave soldiers.

"Every insult inflicted on our flag, or on our uniform, pierces me to the heart; and I beseech you to have it known publicly, that if France does not sell her services, she wishes, at least, to get credit for her sacrifices and self-denial. When our armies made the tour of Europe, they left every where, as a trace of their passage, the destruction of feudal abuses, and the germs of liberty; it shall not be said that in 1849 a French army could have acted differently or produced other results.

"Tell the general to thank the army in my name for its noble conduct. I am grieved to learn that, even physically, it has not been treated as it deserves. Nothing should be neglected to have our troops comfortably established.

"Receive, my dear Ney, the assurance of my sincere friendship.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

This rather Napoleonic letter created surprise and trouble. M. Falloux, minister of public instruction, a man of talent and high personal worth, thinking that it would be attended with bad consequences for the interests of the church, resigned. However, it had the effect of diminishing ultimate proceedings, and the *Motu Proprio* document of Pius IX., soon after arriving in France, satisfied the demands of the republican president.

Cholera had been very rife all the summer in Paris ;



among its victims were Marshal Bugeaud and several other members of the Assembly. The representatives consequently, deeming it prudent to suspend their sessions, adjourned from the 11th of August to the 1st of October. During the recess, however, they left a commission of permanence behind them, consisting of twenty-five members charged to represent the legislative power in their absence.

Since the last elections, the president had been on good terms with the moderate party, particularly with its chiefs. They had constantly supported and defended the government, and even occasionally showed it much friendship in questions of general interest. But they carefully avoided, at the same time, taking any measures that might strengthen its authority or widen its basis. They dreaded nothing so much as to see the elective republic consolidated for the profit of a Bonaparte. On this point there was a perfect understanding between the partisans of Henry V. and those of the house of Orleans. It was only a parliamentary truce, then, that existed between the two parties, and they had momentarily coalesced only to attack socialism, and "to close the gulf of revolutions."

But Louis Napoleon, it cannot be denied, was possessed of a power outside the Assembly, which jealousy, well or ill founded, could not destroy. This was the stronghold he had taken of the affections of the people and the army. He neglected no opportunity to increase it. He held reviews, and distributed crosses of honor to old soldiers; he visited barracks and hospitals; he informed himself minutely of all the details of military administration; in a word, he took the state of the army under his especial care.

He attended to the people with the same solicitude. He particularly encouraged the building of industrial establishments on a grand scale, in which the poorer classes might enjoy what they could not find elsewhere — lodging, healthy, airy, and clean. The interest he took, however, in these establishments, did not always turn to their advantage. He had encouraged the erection of a building of this nature in a beautiful situation on a rising ground in the immediate outskirts of Paris, and had subscribed for a considerable sum in the shares. But the appearance of his name at the head of the list of subscribers exerted an unlucky influence on the bankers and capitalists ; they refused to have any thing to do with such an undertaking for fear of increasing the popularity of Louis Napoleon. “ Besides,” said they, “ it is a socialist project ; such industrial establishments would furnish central positions ready made for insurrections. The working classes can do without them, as they have managed, so far, to do without phalansteries.” The consequence was, that the money gave out before the walls had risen a foot from the ground. The president had not the means of completing the building from his own resources, and, in order to do so, was compelled to wait until his own authority was greater, and until the terrible monster of socialism had not only lost all real power, but also all its paralyzing effects on the minds of men.

It was a frequent custom of Louis Napoleon to leave the Elysée, accompanied by a young orderly officer, named Fleury, and proceed on foot to the Faubourg St. Antoine, the poorest quarter of Paris. There he entered the workshops ; questioned the foremen ; listened to the complaints of the workmen about their precarious con-

dition, their wages, the stoppage of their work. He generally went *incognito*, but he was often recognized, and always made himself known by his generosity when departing.

One day he entered a wall-paper factory which he knew contained a great number of workmen connected with the secret societies, and compromised in the events of June. The walls were in fact covered over with republican portraits, the triangle, the level, the red cap, and other revolutionary emblems.

Louis Napoleon, pretending not to notice these embellishments, advanced, but was received with coldness and defiant looks, for his name had passed rapidly from mouth to mouth as soon as he had made his appearance. Affecting no apprehension of his real danger, he tried to enter into conversation with the men. He questioned them about their own work especially, and so won on them that he was soon told that this branch of business, which had suffered more than any other in 1848, was now beginning to recover, and already furnished employment for half the hands.

"We must only have a little patience," said he. "The national workshops did much injury, especially to ornamental work such as yours. I promise you a decided improvement before the end of the year. I am engaged in giving a start to the building business, which must animate every other. This winter you shall not be idle, my friends."

The women of the neighborhood, the wives, sisters, and daughters of the workmen, hearing of the president's arrival, here ran in to see him, and were enchanted with the gracious reception they obtained. They surrounded him eagerly ; and now he found no difficulty in obtaining answers.

But perceiving a young man who kept himself haughtily apart, as if unwilling to be obliged to show any politeness, Louis Napoleon beckoned to him to approach. The man colored, hesitated an instant, and then unwillingly advanced. He had a wooden leg.

"You have served in Africa?" asked the prince. The young man bit his lips, and made no reply.

"Ah, it is the effect of an accident then," said Louis Napoleon, regretting to have embarrassed the young man by asking him to declare the cause of an infirmity which his silence plainly enough referred to the unhappy days of June. "How old are you?"

"Twenty-six, and I have a mother to support."

Here an old lady, neatly but plainly dressed, forced her way through the throng.

"My prince," said she, with simplicity, "I am his mother. He is not a bad boy, only they have put such ugly notions into his head ——"

"But he supports you with his labor," interrupted Louis Napoleon, to prevent her going further. "Have you no other resources, madam?"

"My poor husband was killed in those affairs of June," she replied, wiping her eyes.

"That horrible battle of June has had many victims," said Louis Napoleon, unwilling to carry on further conversation with a woman whom he took for the widow of an insurgent.

"My husband did his duty," she added, sobbing. "He was serving in the Republican Guards when he fell to rise no more, at the attack of the great barricade of the Faubourg."

"Your husband died in the ranks? Was he an old soldier?"

"Thirty years in the service, my prince."

"Commandant Fleury, take the name and address of this brave woman. This affair must be looked into. It is only just that the state adopt the children of its defenders. Your son?"

"O Monseigneur," cried the widow, "when my husband received the ball, my son was at the other side of the barricade!"

"Well, he received a ball too, and that has not been his greatest punishment. But every thing is forgotten except the services of your husband. I shall remember them."

He had left the building when he heard a commotion in the crowd behind him. Turning, he perceived the old lady leading her son by the hand.

"O prince, pardon him," she exclaimed. "You have corrected him. He is ashamed of what he has done. It was all bad advice. He promised, the unhappy boy, to do you an injury, and now he is ready to die for you."

The president kept his word with the poor woman, and paid her a pension out of his own private purse.

Out of this incident a very poetic version was manufactured in the Faubourg St. Antoine, which ran as follows:—

"An insurgent of June had sworn the death of the president of the republic. The prince was informed of it. He went up to the man, who was already preparing to strike him, and said, 'Do not prevent me from doing the good the people expect from me: only two years are required to accomplish my mission. These two years I ask of you in the name of France. Then, do what you will.'

"And the insurgent of June," said the poetry, "threw himself at the feet of Louis Napoleon, renouncing his frightful project, and crying '*Vive l'Empereur !*' "

But it was the opening of the different lines of railroads connecting the capital with the provinces that furnished Louis Napoleon with an unanswerable pretext for entering into communication with the people that had elected him, and that now relied on him for the safety of France. The inauguration of the railroads from Paris to Chartres was the first of these popular festivals in which the president gave public expression to discourses foreshadowing the secrets of his policy and the promises of his government. All along the way, at the different stations, he was received with every demonstration of joy. At the banquet, attended by more than five hundred guests, in the course of a speech, returning thanks to the town for his flattering reception, he said, —

"It is at Chartres that St. Bernard came to preach the second crusade, that magnificent idea of the middle ages, which rescued France from intestine troubles, and placed the cultivation of faith far above the cultivation of merely material interests.

"It is at Chartres, too, that Henry IV. was crowned ; it is here that he put an end to those ten years of civil war, by entreating religion to bless the return of peace and concord.

"Well, to-day, again, it is to faith and conciliation that we must appeal—to faith, which supports us and enables us to bear all the difficulties of our state ; to conciliation, which increases our strength, and gives us hope of a better future."

At Amiens, where he went to distribute standards to

the National Guards of the department of Somme, though it was a legitimist city, he was received with equal enthusiasm. When the bishop met him at the great door of the cathedral, he addressed the prelate in the following words:—

“ Monseigneur, I thank you for the prayers you are about to offer up to the Almighty in my behalf. Such assistance is more than ever necessary now, that Heaven may come to my aid, and permit me to secure the happiness of France. Yes, I say it aloud, to secure the happiness of our common country, that is my only ambition, that shall be the constant aim of all my efforts.” He sent three thousand francs to the Benevolent Society.

Whilst at Amiens he thought of paying that visit to Ham of which we have already spoken.

He was accompanied by three companions of his captivity; General Montholon, Dr Couneau, and Charles Thélín.

He was heartily welcomed in the town which he pleasantly called “an old acquaintance of his,” and soon went to examine the prison. He looked once more with much interest on the yard, the ramparts, and the little garden which he had so long cultivated, and which the prison people still carefully attended. Dr. Couneau’s chamber was at that time occupied by Bou-Maza, the famous Arab chief. The prince set him at liberty in the name of France.

“ My lord,” exclaimed Bou-Maza, much excited, and in his Oriental style, “in this prison the walls speak; they have a thousand voices to chant your glory. They have also taught me to love you without knowing you, by telling me of your greatness of soul in misfortune, which, like the crucible, purifies the gold of human wisdom. Make use of this gold, prince, to form for yourself a royal crown.”

We have already given an extract of Louis Napoleon's speech to the mayor and municipal authorities. It was from this visit to Ham that were dated the first real rumors of a contemplated *coup d'état*, which thenceforward began to circulate steadily, and were occasionally renewed by various circumstances.

At Angers the president of the republic was thus alluded to by the bishop at the blessing of the locomotives :—

"We shall implore the Lord to bless France, to bless her elect, and to shed his light on the councillors that surround her choice, and second his efforts to bring back to the bosom of our dear country rest, tranquillity, and happiness." In the prince's reply to the mayor's address, he said, —

"Gentlemen : whilst passing through your city, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, I asked myself what I had done to merit so flattering, so enthusiastic a reception.

"It is not merely because I am the nephew of the man who put an end to our civil broils that you receive me with such kindness. I cannot do for you what the emperor has done. I have neither his genius nor his power. But what explains your acclamations is the fact that I represent the system of moderation and conciliation which has been inaugurated by the republic ; this system, which consists in mooring in France, not that savage liberty that permits every one to do as he likes, but the liberty of a civilized people, which permits every one to do whatever is not prejudicial to the community.

"Under all governments there are, I know, oppressors and oppressed ; *but as long as I am president of the republic, there shall be no party oppressed.*"



At Tours, alluding to the rumors of a projected *coup d'état*, he said, —

“It is pretended at Paris that the government meditates some enterprise similar to the 18th Brumaire. But are we now in the same circumstances? Have foreign armies invaded our territories? Is France torn with civil convulsions? Are eighty thousand families in exile? Are there three hundred thousand families outlawed by edicts regarding the suspected? In short, is law without vigor, and authority without strength? No, we are not yet in a condition that requires such heroic remedies.”

It may be noticed here that he does not condemn a *coup d'état*; he only says that circumstances at present render such an “heroic remedy” unnecessary.

At Rouen the Mayor, in his address, actually passed a public eulogy on the imperial government, and the happy consequences resulting from the 18th Brumaire. “In the name of the city of Rouen,” he concluded, “whose industrious population owes so much to Napoleon, I offer a toast to that great memory which on the 10th of December blazed out for us like a lighthouse in a storm. To Napoleon! To his nephew!—who is also called to save France and civilization, and who so well justifies our best hopes.”

Sometimes, however, as if to vary the matter, he was obliged to listen to language somewhat different. The mayor of Havre, for instance, advised him to imitate Washington rather than Napoleon. But this was very seldom.

At the industrious manufacturing town of Elbeuf he was thus addressed by a blouse-clad workman, speaking for his comrades.

“Monsieur le President: You do not like long dis-

courses, and we operatives cannot make them. So your wishes and our abilities square wonderfully. Permit us, then, only to express in a few words how gratifying your visit is to us, Mr. President, and to say that it fills us with joy.

“On the 10th of December our shops were deserted, our sufferings were unheard of. The national will places you at the head of the state, and this happy inspiration brings back, together with order and confidence, that industrial activity which enables us to live. Labor has already produced some improvement in our condition. We thank you for this, Mr. President, and we trust in you for the future, for we know that our lot affects you, and deeply engages your attention.

“In return for what you have done, for what you will do, accept, Mr. President, our profound gratitude, and rely, we beg of you, on our hands and our hearts.”

The prince, taking the orator's hand, replied, —

“I am much moved by the words which you address me in the name of the operatives of Elbeuf. You do not deceive yourselves in supposing that the working classes possess my deepest solicitude; my efforts shall be constantly directed to improve their condition.”

At Epernay the venerable Bishop of Chalons used these words, —

“Blessed be yourself, monseigneur, you who take so much care of us, and who do such great things for us every day. The recollection of these shall live forever, particularly that of the magnificent expedition to Rome, of which you were the chief author, and which has filled France and all the Christian world with joy.”

At Sens, also, the mayor praised the emperor and the empire in a rather emphatic discourse, which concluded

with these words: "There are memories which never die." But Louis Napoleon, not wishing to tread on such dangerous ground, confined his speech to expressions of his gratitude to the department of Yonne, for having chosen him, though an exile, and forbidden to return, in the elections of 1848.

On the whole it was quite evident that the prince had lost none of his popularity.

About this time Count Persigny passed through the court of Germany on some secret mission. It was, perhaps, to sound that country as to its real sentiments regarding the state of things in France. The different powers of Europe, hardly yet recovered from the shocks of 1848, though regarding France for some time with a suspicious eye, now began to recognize the exertions of Louis Napoleon for the establishment of a universal peace. In fact, generally speaking, a higher opinion of his abilities seemed to be entertained by foreign nations than by the chiefs of the great parties at home. The royalists continued to believe that the hero of Strasburg and Boulogne was little short of a madman, and the republicans could not imagine the possibility of a *prince* being really a formidable personage.

At last the recess was ended, and the Assembly resumed its session on the 1st of October, 1849. Business commenced with a proposition of M. Creton to annul the decrees that interdicted the return of the Bourbon family to France. To this, Prince Napoleon said he had not the least objection, only he added that the same favor should be extended to the insurgents of June, "transported without judgment." But though this attempt to establish a connection between the banished princes and the anarchists caused much confusion

in the Assembly, it was soon forgotten in a new dispute that had most important consequences.

We have already seen that Louis Napoleon's letter to Colonel Ney at Rome had given much displeasure to many good men. But besides those sincerely offended, many members of the order party, thinking it a favorable moment to remind the nephew of the emperor that he was only president of a republic, had concluded, since he had displayed his flag, that they should display theirs. The chiefs of this party therefore required ministers either to withdraw this letter to M. Edgard Ney or officially disavow it. The ministry were in a difficulty. They had no desire to quarrel with the government or with the Assembly. They made all sorts of efforts then to escape either alternative. Some pretended to attach slight importance to a letter which they wished to pass off as merely a little indiscretion of private correspondence; others said that it was signed by no minister, and consequently could not be disavowed. The prince tried to encourage them by writing them a new letter; but this they considered too pretentious, and almost treated it with contempt, little thinking that such conduct might drive him to dispense with their services altogether. On the 18th of October the great discussion came on. M. De Tocqueville attempted to explain matters, but did not succeed. He was immediately followed by a republican orator, M. Mathieu de la Drome, who pretended to support the president against his adversaries. "Somebody *must* defend this letter," he went on. "Well, I will undertake the task. In this *we* cannot be suspected. It is not *we* who have by turns covered the president with praises and outrages. It is not *we* who declared that the nomination of Louis Napoleon would be a disgrace to France."

"It is M. Thiers!" cried several voices on the Left.

"I hear these words attributed to the honorable M. Thiers," resumed the speaker, turning round to M. Thiers' seat; "if he denies them, of course it settles the question at once."

"I do deny them!" exclaimed M. Thiers, without rising.

"Between M. Thiers, who denies, and M. Bixio, who affirms," continued the speaker, "the Assembly shall decide." And he went on with his oration; but long before it was ended, the two representatives in question had gone out to settle the dispute by a resort to arms. It was useless to attempt to reconcile them. M. Thiers insisted that he had not said what M. Bixio as strongly insisted he had heard him say. To be sure M. Bixio did not want to kill M. Thiers, and M. Thiers would never forgive himself if he killed M. Bixio. The seconds were equally fraternal. The battle would prove nothing. Still, how else adjust the dispute? The pistols were loaded; the champions set in their places; each fired twice without hitting his adversary; they expected a third round, when the seconds interfered, and said that matters *should* stop there. It is reported that M. Bixio then said to M. Thiers, —

"It is possible that you may have forgotten. As for me, I remember. So it is only a question of memory."

"It is possible," M. Thiers is said to have replied, "that you did not understand me. As for me, I know what I meant. So it is only a question of interpretation."

Wondering that they had not seen the force of such simple explanations before, the honorable representatives, now perfectly satisfied, returned safe and sound to the

Assembly, and took their seats for the rest of the discussion, which, however, by this time had wandered from the subject, and become philosophical.

Next day the dispute was renewed. But night had brought reflection. The majority had not expected to see the president so strongly sustained by the Mountain party, whom they well knew to be his implacable enemies. It was determined, then, that they should not abandon the government. During the debate, to the surprise of many, General Cavaignac arose, and gave a remarkable testimony of his sympathy with the president of the republic.

"I hope," said he, "that a year's reserve shall have given me the privilege of expressing myself clearly without having my sentiments suspected. Well, I declare it freely, I have found in the letter of the president of the republic the expression of sentiments the most patriotic and most worthy, I will not only say of him who wrote it, but also of the great nation that has chosen him for her first magistrate. I render complete and respectful homage to the thought that has inspired this letter."

This same day was also signalized for the secession of Victor Hugo, the famous poet, from the ranks of the moderate party. His former friendship, or at least liking, for the president of the republic, all at once changed into the fiercest personal hostility. The origin of this revolution is not well known. It is said, indeed, that M. Victor Hugo expected to be appointed minister of public instruction, but that the prince considered him too stubbornly attached to his own ways of thinking to become a practical minister. It is also reported that Louis Napoleon once said, —

"M. Victor Hugo, whenever he addresses me, always

puts on a very patronizing air: this I could understand if I made verses, or pieces for the theatre."

Whether the president ever uttered this *mot* or not, it is at least certain that something had occurred to kindle that terrible resentment in the heart of the poet which first blazed forth so violently that day, and has never since been extinguished. He ascended the tribune, and at once launched out into an eloquent strain of fierce invective against the letter and its author. He was vociferously cheered by the Mountain, who, of course, were extravagant in their applause of the great speaker they had so unexpectedly gained.

The illustrious Montalembert could not let such an open desertion pass without a bitter rebuke.

"Gentlemen," he exclaimed, taking his place in the tribune, "the discourse you have just heard has already received the reward, or rather the punishment, it merited, in the applauses with which it has been listened to."

The debate ended by a vote of four hundred and sixty-nine to one hundred and eighty in favor of the government; but the first result was a determination of Louis Napoleon to get rid of his ministry. He deeply respected, indeed, the ability and honesty of Odillon Barrot, and would have him form a new Cabinet; but M. Barrot would not act without M. Dufaure. On the 31st of October, the following message—a significant document—was read by the president of the Assembly, and announced the reasons inducing Louis Napoleon to adopt this course.

"ELYSEE, October 31, 1849.

"MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT: In the present momentous state of affairs, the different powers of the state can

maintain that harmony which should prevail amongst them only by entertaining a mutual confidence, and explaining themselves frankly to each other. To give an example of this sincerity, I wish to acquaint the Assembly with the reasons that have determined me to change the ministry, and to separate myself from men whose eminent services I take pleasure in proclaiming, and to whom, personally, I have pledged my friendship and gratitude.

“In order to strengthen the republic, menaced by anarchy from so many sides; to insure order more efficiently than has been done hitherto; to maintain abroad the name of France at the height of her renown, — men are needed, who, animated by a patriotic devotedness, comprehend the necessity of a direction single and firm, and of a clearly-defined policy, who do not compromise power by any irresolution, who are as much filled with the conviction of my peculiar responsibility as of their own — men of action as well as words.

“For nearly a year I have given many proofs of self-denial, in order that there might be no misunderstanding with regard to my real sentiments. Without rancor against any individuality, or against any party, I have allowed men of the most contrary opinions to arrive at power, but without obtaining the happy result which I expected from that union. In place of effecting a fusion of different shades of opinion, I only arrived at a neutralization of forces.

“The unity of views and intentions was interfered with, and the spirit of conciliation taken for weakness. Scarcely had the dangers of the street been got over, when the old parties were seen again to elevate their colors, revive their rivalries, and alarm the country by sowing disquietude.



“In the midst of this confusion, France, uneasy because she sees no guidance, seeks the hand, the will, the standard of the elect of the 10th of December. But that will cannot be felt unless there be entire community of ideas, of views, and of convictions between the president and his ministers, and unless the Assembly itself join in the national thought, of which the election of the executive power has been the expression.

“A whole system triumphed on the 10th of December, for the name of Napoleon is a complete programme in itself. It means, at home, order, authority, religion, the welfare of the people; abroad, national dignity. It is this policy, inaugurated by my election, that I wish to make triumph, with the support of the Assembly and that of the people. I wish to merit the confidence of the people by maintaining the Constitution to which I have sworn. I wish, by my loyalty, my perseverance, and my firmness, to inspire the country with such confidence that affairs may resume their course, and that faith may be had in the future.

“The *letter* of a constitution has certainly a great influence on the destiny of the country; but the *manner* in which it is executed has perhaps even more. The longer or shorter duration of power contributes vastly to the stability of things; but it is also by displaying ideas and principles that a government can succeed in persuading society to reassure itself.

“Let us strengthen authority then, without disturbing real liberty. Let us calm apprehension by boldly subduing evil passions, and by giving all noble instincts a useful direction. Let us strengthen the religious principle, without abandoning any of the conquests of the revolution, and we shall save the country, in spite

of all the parties, the ambitions, and even the imperfections which our institutions may contain."

Thus fell Louis Napoleon's first ministry. A list of their successors was published in the evening's *Moniteur*. The secret had been so well kept that no one knew their names up to the last moment, and even many diplomatic personages had been quite confident that Marrast and Cavaignac would be among the number.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

*Proceedings of the Year 1849-50. — The new Ministry. — Montalembert's Speech. — The "Raft." — Progress of Socialism. — New Elections. — Socialists triumphant in Paris. — Anger of the Assembly. — Debates on the Restriction of Universal Suffrage. — The "Vile Multitude." — Three Million Voters disfranchised. — Prosperous Condition of France. — "A Year Ago." — Proposal to increase the President's Salary passed after strong Opposition. — Adjournment of the Assembly. — President's Tour through the East and West. — Famous Discourse at Lyons. — Plots of the Royalists. — The Visits to Claremont. — The Congress of Wisbaden. — Barthelemy Circular. — What of the Constitution?*

THE leader of the new ministry was Ferdinand, Odillon Barrot's brother, the talented advocate, of whose eloquent speech at the Bologna trial we have already spoken. A coolness between the brothers, though generally reported at the time, does not, however, appear to have resulted from this change. Odillon had been earnestly requested by Louis Napoleon to continue

at the head of the cabinet, as already mentioned, and his refusal had been influenced, perhaps, as much by ill health as by his political considerations. The president had then written him an autograph letter, in which he expressed his regret for his absence from the new ministry, and assured him that his spirit would still preside there, as Ferdinand, the premier, could find no better example to imitate than that set him by his elder brother.

A great change was immediately felt in the government. The new ministers were, indeed, rather regarded with repugnance by the Assembly; but the president, by assuming the total responsibility on himself, had freed them from apprehensions of not being sustained by the majority, and now, at last, felt himself at liberty to act according to his own inspirations.

Still the new cabinet aimed at propitiation rather than independence in their programme. Using nearly the same language as that of their predecessors on a similar occasion, and breathing a very different tone from that of the message, they besought the support of the majority by appealing to the union of all political shades for the safety of France. For some time the majority did not appear unwilling to support them. The parties sustained each other very powerfully in the passage of several important laws. One of these prohibited teachers from opening schools at pleasure; for since 1848, tampering with the tender minds of youth had been found to be a most efficient branch of socialist propagandism. Another law was passed, after a severe contest of two months, which, recognizing the right of the religious element to take its part in education, deprived the infidel university of its monopoly, and permitted, as well

in the supreme councils of public instruction as in the academic councils of each department, a certain number of clergymen, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, to take their seats beside the representatives of the magistracy and of the learned bodies. Another measure, in which the ministry was supported by the majority, was the repeal of the law abolishing the tax on liquors, that had been so maliciously passed the previous year by the Constituent Assembly.

The following extract from a speech of Montalembert's gives a good idea of the feelings with which many honorable men belonging to the royalist party at that time regarded the government: —

“The honorable M. Thiers will permit me to say that we suffered shipwreck, he and I, in February, 1848. We belonged to the crew, when we sailed together in that splendid ship the *Constitutional Monarchy*. Yes, when we sailed in that vessel which had borne with so much honor, for thirty-four years, the destinies and the banner of France — when we sailed together in that vessel, not knowing, or hardly knowing each other, we could and should have disputed the right to stand at the helm. But the storm burst, the pilot was flung into the sea, the vessel foundered, we were perishing, when Providence permitted him and me to meet together again on a *raft*. I call the present government a raft. I do not know towards what shores it bears us, but I avow it, though I regret the *vessel*, I bless the *raft*.”

In fact some sort of union between the parties was necessary, as an act of self-defence, in the face of the enormous progress socialism was making throughout the country. Every day furnished fresh sources of acrimony. In November, 1849, the principal leaders of

the last conspiracy, that of the 13th of June, were brought to trial, and nearly all condemned to exile or transportation. They generally made no defence, regarding themselves as the victims of reaction. Thirty representatives were among the number.

The vacancies thus left in the Assembly were to be filled up; the elections were to take place in March, 1850, and the hopes of appointing their respective candidates stimulated each party to the most extraordinary efforts. All France watched the contest with anxiety. In the excitement some disturbances occurred now and then in the capital and in the provinces. One of these took place on the 24th of February, and was called the *émeute of the Trees of Liberty*. Most of the trees planted in the streets of Paris to celebrate the installation of the republic had by this time died, and many of them stood in the way. The police received orders to cut them all down. Some resistance was offered, but it was easily overcome, troops being numerous enough in the capital.

But it was not so in the provinces, especially those of the East and Centre. Here socialism had taken very strong root. Even within the year many had joined the ranks; some through selfishness, others through ignorance, some through fear, some through conviction. Many expected to play a great part in the *forthcoming grand regeneration*, and the rest, either indifferent to consequences or unable to prevent them, with folded arms moodily waited the civil.

"Every one is a socialist here, or going to be," wrote a general, commanding a military division of the East, to the President of the republic. "This city contains only three men for whom I would undertake to be

responsible — the prefect of the department, the deputy mayor, and myself!"

To meet the pressing danger, and to prevent, if possible, an appeal to arms on the 10th of March, the day of the elections, Louis Napoleon issued a decree dividing the country into five great military commands, and placed the army under the authority of five generals, who had already given him sufficient proofs of their energy and devotion. In this determined measure he was strongly supported by the Assembly by a vote of four hundred and thirty-seven to one hundred and eighty-three.

In spite, however, of the uneasy state of public affairs, the beneficent influence of a stable government had been already felt throughout the country, and great results were now claimed by the Bonapartist papers as the effect of Louis Napoleon's administration.

"A year ago," said the *Napoleon*, "the state finances were gravely compromised; there was a deficit of more than three hundred millions. Now, without loans, we can show an exchequer that balances.

"A year ago, labor and commerce had ceased every where. Now, factories are in full activity. The custom houses have reported as favorably as in the most prosperous years. The actual augmentation of the indirect revenue over the year 1848 is seventy-seven million francs.

"A year ago, the city of Paris alone gave support to nearly one hundred thousand poor. Now, the number is reduced to ten thousand.

"A year ago, the tolls of Paris had considerably diminished, the workmen were withdrawing their deposits from the savings banks, and pledging their effects in

the Mont de Piété. To-day the tolls are six millions more than last year. Deposits in the savings banks are increased by 25,886,000 francs ; and according to official reports, the total value of effects released from the Mont de Piété is much greater than that of the effects pledged.

“A year ago, the stocks were at 70. To-day, they are at 97.”

The day for elections soon came, and the excitement in Paris was intense. Of the thirty representatives, three were to be elected in the capital. The socialist nominations were De Flotte, Vidal, and Carnot, ex-minister of public instruction. The government nominations had been so modified, to suit the different sections of the majority, that, though worthy men, they were unpopular, or rather hardly known at all. The consequence was, that the social and democratic ticket triumphed. The barricade men conquered by some thousand the nominees of the party of order.

Nor was this all. M. Vidal, being also elected in the department of Upper Rhine, preferred taking his seat as representative of Strasburg, and another election was appointed to take place in Paris on the 28th of April. The government candidate was M. Leclerc, a merchant, who had signally distinguished himself in the battles of June ; the socialists ran M. Eugene Sue, the romancist. The most vigorous efforts were made by the Assembly to have their candidate returned, and the struggle on the other side was equally energetic. The battle ended in the complete triumph of Eugene Sue, who received more than 126,000 votes. This was 30,000 more than had been given to General Cavaignac.

In the previous year Paris had returned only conser-

vative representatives ; such a sudden and determined change filled the Assembly with consternation. They could not contain their anger at such a defeat, and panted for revenge. They forgot that Paris was as fickle as the wind. They did not remark that, whilst the frivolous inhabitants of the capital, always a prey to some fanaticism or other, thus hoisted the socialist flag, the provinces had by no means imitated their example, and that, on the whole, the conservative party had gained by the late elections. This they did not see, or rather pretended not to see, in their eagerness to strike a new blow, with which they expected to annihilate socialism.

M. Eugene Sue had been scarcely elected when the majority of the Assembly loudly declared that universal suffrage, that magnificent phantom of the provisional government, should be looked into. Reform, they said, was clearly called for. At first the advocates of change only sought to oppose those chance majorities brought about through party combinations, by means of a floating population, and to prevent the same elector from voting successively in several departments during the same legislature. But they soon came out boldly, and demanded that the system of universal suffrage should be thoroughly purified.

It is not easy to see how universal suffrage *could* be purified by other means than those already taken ; that is, by the exclusion of all malefactors and vagabonds recognized as such by justice. Perhaps some more effectual purification was desirable ; but could not a measure be devised less destructive of the *principle* of universal suffrage than that now decided upon ? Still, we cannot, at this time, nor in this country, realize to ourselves the painfully excited state of feeling relative to socialism



existing among the moderate parties in France at that period. The measure, of course, cannot be approved of, but it can certainly be palliated. The *principle* of universal suffrage is good, because it recognizes the equality of man to his fellows, and the inalienable right of self-government. But where society is so constituted that man, generally speaking, cannot act as an equal with his fellows, and from nature or ignorance is at the mercy of every brawling demagogue that flatters his basest passions and inflates his selfishness, *there* the application of universal suffrage can hardly be advised. We do not say that such was the actual state of France at the time; but many honest men in the Assembly thought it to be so, and the prejudices, fears, and ulterior calculations of the others did the rest.

Louis Napoleon and his ministers yielded, on this occasion, to the terrors of the conservatives, perhaps to their own. The president, however, though he agreed to the measure, somewhat qualified his approval.

"I am willing," said he, when consulted by his cabinet on the subject, "that there should be a temporary suspension of the right of universal suffrage. In an urgent crisis, the law, in the name of the public, can *suspend* a right. But *abrogate*, or *annul* it, it cannot. Universal suffrage must be restored as soon as circumstances permit."

A committee was accordingly formed to frame a project regulating the reforms to be applied to the electoral law. It was soon finished, and when drawn up in legal form, presented to the Assembly for approval. According to its provisions no citizen could vote unless he had been living *three* years previously in the commune for which he appeared. Domiciliation could not be proved by

legal affidavit made before the tribunals, but only by the appearance of the name in the taxman's book, (*la preuve fiscale de la cote personnelle*). The soldier under arms, the government functionary, the son in his father's house, and the salaried individual residing with his employer, were the only exemptions from this triennial domiciliation. The soldier could vote in his own commune, the functionary in his place of residence, and the two latter could vote on the simple certificate of residence from the parent or patron.

As might be expected, this bill excited long and impassioned debates before it passed into a law. Louis Napoleon very carefully kept himself apart from the question altogether. The committee of seventeen that had framed the bill desired all the credit of the measure, and he took care not to deprive them of it. The Mountain opposed it with the most determined resolution, and a party rallying around General Cavaignac denounced it as a violation of the constitution, and a disregard for the rights of the poor. Thiers retorted by alleging that it was the Mountain that had neglected no opportunity of violating the constitution, bringing forward the frequent insurrections as a proof of his assertion.

"As for the poor," said he, "we must do every thing for them, except allow them to decide on great questions affecting the future interests of the country. Yes, give the poor every thing, except having any share in the government of the poor! (Disapproval.) Besides, are those to be excluded the poor? No, they are not the poor; they are only the vagrants and the stragglers! These are the men," he continued, "that form not the foundation, but the dangerous part of a crowded popu-

lation; these are the men who deserve that title, the most branded in all history — *the vile multitude*. Of course, I know there are men who do not like to deprive themselves of the support of the *multitude*; but moral legislators, nevertheless, should keep it down. Republicans, good, real republicans should not love the *vile multitude* that has destroyed all republics. I know how tyrants agree with it, because they feed it, fondle it, and despise it; but *republicans*, who would cherish or flatter *the multitude*, are false and wicked republicans!"

Here he might have stopped; but instigated by the demon of eloquence he continued, —

"Don't you know history? Open history: what does it teach you? Listen.

"History teaches us that it is *the vile, the miserable multitude* that sold Roman liberty to the Cæsars for bread and circus games, and then murdered the emperors it had chosen for itself; that had shrieked for joy at the deserved punishment of Robespierre, but would as frantically applaud yours or mine; that submitted, indeed, to a great man because he knew it, and could master it; but that intoxicated him with its adulations, drove him to despotism, and at last, in 1815, threw a rope around his neck to drag him through the gutter."

Loud applause and hisses greeted this uncalled-for tirade. Prince Napoleon started up amid loud cries of order! and asked permission to speak. M. Thiers refused to leave the tribune. "No," said he, "I will not add to the grief of the Assembly by letting it see a man of the illustrious name of Napoleon sustaining such opinions."

But the prince persisting, Thiers gave way. "I could not contain myself," said the prince, "when I heard M. Thiers say it was the people —"

"No, no!" interrupted the Right; "he did not say the people, but the multitude."

"The people," continued Napoleon, "that tied the rope around the neck of Napoleon's statue. I am astonished that the honorable M. Thiers, the great historian, does not know that it was the royalists! ("Yes, yes," and cheers, from the Mountain.) It was a man bearing a great name that did the deed. It is on account of the name *I* bear, that I defend the interests of the people. I had rather be on the side of the conquered at Waterloo than on that of the conquerors."

But such historical discussions, though they enlivened the debate, had very little effect on the subject at issue. On the 31st of May, 1850, the bill passed the Assembly with a clear majority of more than two hundred and fifty. Of its merits it will be enough to say that it stripped of their rights as citizens three millions of electors. There were now in the nation a *domiciled aristocracy*, and a class of political Pariahs.

Louis Napoleon was well aware that the measure was a two-edged weapon, to be directed against his own reflection as well as against the socialists; still, when asked to interpose his *veto*, he replied, —

"I do not think this law, whatever its nature, can affect the universal suffrage which elects the president of the republic." But though the Assembly passed it, and the president signed it, to us it seems a contradiction that either president or Assembly *could legally* limit the power upon which *they themselves depended altogether for whatever authority they possessed*.

This was the last time that the majority of the Assembly unanimously coalesced with the executive against their mutual foe, the socialists. The suppressed hostility

soon made its appearance. It was on a question of supplies. On the 4th of June, M. Achille Fould, the minister of finances, presented a motion to augment the salary of the president of the republic by allowing two hundred and fifty thousand francs a month for the expenses of his station. The minister pressed the legality of the demand.

"When the Constituent Assembly," said he, "appointed the salary of the president of the republic to be six hundred thousand francs a year, it reserved for the Legislative Assembly the right of increasing this sum, if it were considered insufficient for the necessities of the presidency, and the benevolent and charitable expenses attached to the first magistracy of the republic. It is then to supply an expenditure which the habits and customs of our country render a duty, that the government now proposes to the Assembly to increase the salary of the president. The experience of more than a year has proved its insufficiency. This insufficiency would degrade, both in our own eyes and those of the stranger, the lofty position which he occupies. It would forcibly close his hands against the innumerable cases of misfortune which from all parts of the country continually address themselves to him as the personified benevolence of France. It would render him powerless to do good."

The demand met with strong opposition.

The president received altogether, salary and presidential expenses included, the sum of one million two hundred thousand francs, or two hundred and forty thousand dollars per annum. Comparing this sum with our president's salary of thirty thousand dollars a year, it seems enormous. But this young, flourishing country differs in so many respects from Europe, that such a

comparison would not be fair. Let us take into the question considerations more directly bearing upon it. The salary of the French president was not the *one eighth* part of the sum voted every year by the British parliament to pay Queen Victoria's personal expenses. Charles X. had a civil list of more than *six million of dollars*, and Louis Philippe of nearly *three millions*, besides an immense personal income. Compared with such sums as these, the minister's demand of six hundred thousand dollars per annum, to be appropriated to the exigencies of the first magistracy of a country like France, certainly does not seem too extravagant. Besides, the pecuniary calls made on exalted positions in the old country are endless, and generally speaking, must be complied with. Of this we can obtain a very clear idea from the reply made by the author of "*La premiere Presidence de Louis Napoleon*," to a taunting article in the *National*, wherein it was said that the executive power had something else to do besides "flinging the nation's money at the first beggars that came in the way."

"Do we wish to know," he asks, "who were those beggars that the socialist journals treated with such contempt? They were not only the old soldiers of the empire, veteran warriors that had shed their blood on every battle field in Europe; these were only a small part of the number; they were benevolent and charitable societies, who solicited the president for a penny to relieve abandoned children and sick tradesmen; they were clergymen, who went about questing in behalf of their falling church and impoverished dioceses; they were artists, composers, men of letters, who asked the head of the state to subscribe to their works, to their concerts, to their pictures, to their statues; they were prefects, mayors, who

thought they were honoring the president by asking him for his name among the subscribers to monuments that were to perpetuate the great recollections of our history ; they were antiquated functionaries, widows, old state servants, who wanted a morsel of bread. This list, lamentably long, comprised pensioners of the old civil list, Chevaliers of St. Louis, and lastly many political criminals, and even a near female relative of Mazzini ! ”

Nevertheless, the proposed requisition was for a long time obstinately refused. Thiers exerted all his eloquence in vain. At last, however, apparently induced by the intervention of General Changarnier, an unwilling consent was extorted, and the law passed. The majority was only forty-six, the numbers being three hundred and fifty-four to three hundred and eight. This was the first question in which the republicans and royalists were decidedly united against the president ; the three hundred and eight hostile votes belonging in almost equal proportions to the two parties.

With all its quarrels and disputes, however, the Assembly had not been idle during the year. From May, 1849, to July, 1850, it had converted into laws three hundred and seventeen propositions, not to speak of those discussed and rejected. The period of recess now approaching, before separating, the Assembly, as on the previous year, appointed a permanent committee of twenty-five, to watch over matters generally, and to convoke the representatives immediately in case any unforeseen danger, or any grave symptom, occurred, of a nature to threaten the republic. With the exception of *one* impartial man, Odillon Barrot, all the members of this committee were notoriously hostile to the president, being avowed Orleanists or legitimists. The Assembly

then adjourned from the 11th of August to the 14th of November.

On the morning of the 12th of August, the president quitted Paris, and set out on two successive tours, one through the south-east and east, the other through the west of France. We cannot describe his progress further than by saying that, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the socialists to interrupt it, it was generally a triumphant procession from department to department. Besides the old halo of the NAME that in many minds almost deified him, people by this time had seen and acknowledged his *own* merits — his ability, at least, to maintain general tranquillity. For more than a month now he put his hand, as it were, on the heart of the country, and felt its pulsations. He saw that France, taking little interest in the personal ambitions of the Assembly, and terrified at the spread of socialism, was weary of suspense, and wished for permanent tranquillity, at almost any sacrifice. Cries of "*Vive Napoleon!*" were far more frequently heard than "*Vive la republique.*" The latter cry, in fact, by this time had come to mean "*Vive la republique rouge!*" and was hardly ever heard except from socialist lips. From this is easily seen what an injury socialism had inflicted on liberty, and how much the frequency and frenzied energy of a cry generally repeated by the lowest and most disreputable characters in the community must have disgusted quiet, simple people with the very idea of a republic.

Louis Napoleon's discourse at the banquet offered him by the city of Lyons on the 15th of August showed how well he understood this state of things. This famous address, which immediately gave rise to so many



speculations and hostile or hopeful remarks, we cannot omit.

"Let me present the worthy representative of the city of Lyons," he said to the mayor, "with the sincere expression of my gratitude for her friendly and sympathetic reception. But, believe me, I am not come to these regions, where the emperor, my uncle, has left such deep traces of his memory, merely to receive ovations or to hold reviews.

"The object of my journey is, by my presence, to encourage the good, to reassure the doubting, and to judge for myself of the sentiments and wants of the country. This task demands your coöperation, and in order to obtain it, I must tell you with frankness what I am and what I think.

"I am not the representative of a party, but the representative of two great *national* manifestations, which, in 1804 as in 1848, would save, by establishing order, the great principles of the French revolution. Proud, then, of my origin and of my banner, I shall remain faithful to them; I shall hold myself completely subject to the country, whatever she requires of me, whether renunciation or perseverance.

"Reports of *coups d'état* have perhaps reached you, gentlemen. You have not believed in them. I thank you for it. Surprises and usurpations may be the dreams of parties unsupported by the nation, but the *elect of six millions* executes the will of the people. He does not betray them.

"Patriotism, I repeat, may consist in renunciation as well as in perseverance. Before a general danger every personal ambition should disappear. In such a case patriotism is to be recognized as maternity was recog-

nized in a certain celebrated lawsuit. You remember the two women that claimed the same child. By what sign was the love of the real mother discovered? By the renunciation of her rights to save a beloved object. Parties that love France should not forget this sublime lesson!

"I myself, if necessary, shall remember it. But, on the other hand, should guilty pretensions revive, and threaten to compromise the repose of France, *I shall know how to reduce them to impotence by again invoking the sovereignty of the people.* For I recognize in nobody a right greater than mine to call himself representative of the people. You must understand these sentiments; for every thing that is noble, generous, sincere, finds a ready echo among the Lyonnese. Of this your history presents immortal examples. Consider these words, then, as a proof of my confidence and my esteem."

A passage in his discourse at Cherbourg on September 6, was not less remarkable.

"Gentlemen," said he, "the more I travel through France, the more I perceive that much is expected from government. I enter no department, town, or village where the mayor and municipal authorities do not ask me, here, for means of communication, such as canals or railroads; there, for works of improvement; every where, in short, for measures to remedy the grievances of agriculture, and to give life to industry and commerce.

"Nothing is more natural than the expression of these desires. They do not strike, rely upon it, an inattentive ear. But, in my turn, I think it my province to tell you that these so much desired results cannot be obtained unless you give me the means to accomplish them.

"These means consist altogether in your coöperating to strengthen authority and disconcert future dangers."

Whilst Louis Napoleon was thus traversing France, discomfiting socialism and strengthening his own popularity, the other parties were not idle. Louis Philippe had lived quietly in England since his arrival there in 1848; but his health now failing, MM. Thiers, De Broglie, Molé, and others hastened to Claremont to present their final regards. He died on the 26th of August, and, before returning to France, these chiefs of the Orleans party came to an understanding with the princes of that house as to the line of policy to be adopted in order to insure the success of their claims. At the same time, MM. De Saint-Priest, Berryer, and De la Rochejaquelein hastened to Wisbaden to pay their respects to the Count de Chambord, or "Henry V.," as he was called by the legitimists, who considered Louis Philippe a usurper. This prince, our readers of course remember, was the son of the Duke de Berri, and grandson of Charles X., born in 1821, some months after his father's assassination, and surnamed the "Child of Europe." On the 15th of August he had established himself and his little court at Wisbaden, in Germany, whither great numbers of the most distinguished legitimists had immediately repaired. Twenty-eight representatives and six or seven members of the Committee of Permanence were of the party, and all formed what soon went by the name of the Congress of Wisbaden. The chief object of the meeting was the *fusion* of two royalist sections into one firm, consistent body, to make head against the revolutionists. This project met with no success, perhaps from the unmanageable pretensions of the Count de Chambord, — though it is said he declared openly that if the chief of the house of Orleans made *one* step in advance, he was ready to make ten.

Seeing that nothing could be done in this respect for

the present, the leaders decided that the legitimist party, in its future policy, should protest cautiously, but energetically, against the revolutionary government, which it had supported only in difficult moments, when the public safety required it. The other results of the meeting were imbodyed in a letter, called the *Barthelemy Circular*, directed to every man in France remarkable for his royalist opinions or antecedents. It was dated August 30, 1850, and among other things it said, "All our friends in the Assembly able to leave France have made it a solemn duty to be the first at Wisbaden." "The Count de Chambord has declared that he reserved for himself the direction of the general policy." "To provide for sudden eventualities, and to secure that complete unity of thought and action which alone can constitute our strength, the count has named the men expressly appointed in France to put his policy into execution." "He has formally condemned the system of an appeal to the people, as implying the negative of the great principle of hereditary monarchy." "His agents, whom every legitimist shall recognize, are MM. the Duke de Levis, General Saint-Priest, Berryer, representatives of the people, the Marquis du Pastouret, and the Duke d'Escars.

Here, then, were four great parties; the legitimists, the Orleanists, the Bonapartists, and the socialists, all engaged in keen struggle for the ascendancy. Where were the real republicans? Nowhere! Who stood by the constitution? Nobody. It was a good name to fight under, and each party claimed it for itself; but no one seriously considered it any thing else than a dead letter. In such a state of things it is plain that nothing but the will of France, universally expressed, could decide a question that was every day becoming more difficult.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Dispute between General Changarnier and the Government. — The Review at Satory. — Alarm of the Permanent Committee. — Rumored Conspiracy of the Assembly to depose Louis Napoleon, and make Changarnier Dictator. — Society of 10th of December dissolved. — Reopening of the Assembly. — President's Message gives some Glimpses of his future Policy. — Spurious Message. — General Changarnier openly opposes the President, and obliges the Ministry to resign. — He is removed from his Command. — Stormy Scene in the Assembly, resulting in the immediate Resignation of the new Ministry. — France for three Months without a regular Cabinet. — Joy of the Socialists. — The Author of "Le Spectre Rouge" tries to alarm the Country. — The Dotation Bill rejected by a Coalition of all Parties. — Montalembert's Speech. — Popularity of the President. — Public Topics.*

FOR more than a month before the reopening of the Assembly, the quarrel between General Changarnier and the parliamentary committee on the one side, and the government and ministry on the other, was a subject of common remark in Paris. This quarrel, revealing, as it did pretty clearly, the real state of parties, and leading to such serious troubles, deserves to be recorded.

General Changarnier, commander-in-chief of the army of Paris, commander-in-chief of the National Guards of Paris, and a leading member of the permanent committee, was now generally regarded as a third power in the state. He had done good service in June, 1849, by suppressing the socialist insurrection almost without bloodshed, and it was to the admirable measures he had since taken, quiet and silent, but effective, that the general tranquillity of the capital was to be attributed. But

he was a man of impracticable temper and excessive pretensions, who made no secret of his vast importance to the executive. To give a slight instance of this insubordination. The Tuilleries was his head quarters. Here, in the palace chapel, without consulting the president or the ministers, he had funeral services celebrated on the occasion of the death of Louis Philippe. Louis Napoleon must have felt the omission, for, though he approved of the proceeding itself as an act of piety performed towards the deceased king by one of his old servants, he said to several who spoke to him on the subject, —

“ I shall never look on the prayers which the church offers for the dead as an act of political malevolence or opposition.”

It was not with the president, however, but with the minister of war, that the quarrel commenced. The supreme control of the army belongs of right to the minister of war ; but General Changarnier, for some reason, considered that his command of the army of Paris invested him with a separate and independent jurisdiction. The subordinates on both sides inflamed the dispute. The president was appealed to, who of course sustained his minister. This exasperated the general to such a degree that, if the word of several who called themselves accomplices can be credited, he joined a conspiracy to have Louis Napoleon deposed by the Assembly, and taken to the prison of Vincennes, whilst himself was to occupy the vacant Palace of Elysée. However this may be, it seems he asked the president to be allowed to form a camp of twelve thousand men at Versailles. Louis Napoleon approved of this idea, for he wished to cultivate his acquaintance with the army as well as with the people ;

but, when the minister of war observed that the expense of such a project would never be permitted by the Assembly, instead of a regular camp at Versailles, he substituted the holding of reviews on the neighboring plains of Satory. With this arrangement Changarnier appeared to agree.

The first review at Satory was held about the end of September. The general could not avoid being present, but every one noticed his cold and dissatisfied air. Loud cries of "*Vive le President!*" "*Vive Napoleon!*" and even "*Vive l'Empereur!*" passed along the line. The evolutions were performed in the most brilliant manner. At the end of the review, the prince offered a cold collation to the officers. It was very acceptable, but at the sight of the first corkscrew, General Changarnier galloped off with all his staff. At the same time, refreshments were served out to the troops, who did not fail to express their satisfaction by renewed cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" A few days after, a second review was held at the same place, which was almost a counterpart of the first.

At a meeting of the permanent committee on the 7th of October, these reviews of Satory were immediately taken under consideration. The minister of war was sent for. He was questioned as to the refreshments furnished to the troops.

"The distribution took place by my orders," he replied. "It is customary to grant double rations to each man on holidays or review days. For this alone I am answerable, and this I have granted at the expense of the state. A distribution of meat, at the rate of five cents' worth to every man, was also made to weary troops that had a long way to march before reaching their bar-

racks ; but that was done at the expense of the president. It is only a proof of his solicitude in their regard. Any one seeing an excitement to sedition in *that*, must have a poor opinion not only of the executive power, but also of the French army."

After some whispered comments on the minister's reply, the committee asked some explanation of those cries of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" uttered by whole regiments as they defiled before the president.

The minister answered that he had heard these cries, but that he attributed them altogether to the natural enthusiasm of the French soldier for the memory of the emperor. As to their illegality, or rather irregularity, he was of course aware that military regulations forbade the soldier under arms to utter any cry ; but, he added, such regulations had never been insisted upon, at least rigorously : then suddenly turning towards General Changarnier, the minister asked him what answer he would make if he were ordered to put these regulations in force.

The general replied slowly, and carefully weighing every word, —

"If the minister of war addresses me this question as the commander-in-chief, I know my answer. Authorities can prevent cries if they choose to do so. It is contrary to my wishes and in spite of my advice, that these acclamations have not only been encouraged, but called forth. If I have not taken repressive measures, it is because at a review where the president and the minister of war are present, their responsibility covers and effaces that of the commander-in-chief. I give this explanation because the minister provokes me to it ; but I would beg him to observe that I am here as a member



of the committee, and not as commander-in-chief of the army of Paris."

Little regarding these hostile manifestations, however, the president proclaimed another review to be held on the 10th. It passed off with great splendor.

General Changarnier had given no order of the day regarding the cries; "*Vive Napoleon!*" and "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were louder than ever. Refreshments and wine were given as before, and the troops, as may be supposed, drank their entertainer's health in many a flowing bumper.

Next day the committee assembled in great dudgeon, and passed some resolutions which, as they were kept a profound secret, were considered to be very terrible. General Neumayer, in obedience to the order of his superior, announced his intention of opposing every kind of cry when the troops were under arms, even though the minister should authorize them to the contrary. For this he received a sharp rebuke from the minister, who strongly asserted his own prerogative. General Changarnier protested indignantly at such an invasion of discipline, and M. D'Hautpoul, the minister, for peace sake, resigned. He was appointed governor of Algeria, and his portfolio was immediately given to General Schramm, the son of an old soldier of the empire.

The new minister of war, however, insisted on the removal of Neumayer as a point of discipline. Changarnier again protested, and the affair might have been arranged but for an act of indiscretion on the part of Neumayer, which looked like a defiance. He was then removed from his command, though his new appointment was in some respects a promotion. General Changarnier was mortally incensed, and publicly said that he

would have tendered his resignation, had he not felt himself morally bound to remain at his post, unless the president should dismiss him.

It is hard to get at the truth at any time; but when men having an interest to conceal it are still living, it is impossible to reach it even by approximation. A dark plot was commonly whispered of at this time, though never substantiated, having no less an object than the president's arrest. Here is all we could make out on the subject.

The plan of the conspiracy was said to be as follows:—

The principal members of the committee were to draw up an act, accusing the president of exceeding his powers, and of a flagrant conspiracy to change the form of the government and usurp the sovereign authority. This act, signed by several members of the committee, was to be handed to M. Dupin, president of the Assembly, who was to sign it in his turn, and then to give it to General Changarnier, who, thus empowered, was to arrest the president immediately and lodge him in prison. The general was to exercise a kind of military dictatorship until the national representation should approve of all that had been done. Then, Changarnier, supposed to be a strong Orleanist, was to protect an appeal to the people, which would most likely result in setting aside the claims of Henry V. and in restoring the throne of July.

Such is said to have been the plan of this parliamentary *coup d'état*, of which M. Thiers was commonly mentioned as the organizer. It is added that the act was accordingly made out, duly signed, and handed to M. Dupin, who alone could transfer it to General Changarnier; but that the president of the Assembly,

less fiery or more prudent than his colleagues, *kept it in his pocket*, unwilling to precipitate matters by attempting an arrest which, considering the vigilance of the adversary, should prove extremely difficult of accomplishment.

However all this may be, one day, after a session of the committee, which as usual had come to nothing, M. Molé hastened to the Elysée, and asked to see the president.

"Prince," said he, "the permanent committee wishes to have you arrested. Proposals have just now been made to me; but I rejected them with indignation, and I said on retiring that I would give you warning."

"I thank you, count," said the president; "I expected no less from you. But I was aware of all this before, and thought so little of these foolish projects, that I have just now been walking through the Champs Elysées. If they were really in earnest they had a good opportunity."

"But," said Molé, surprised at this coolness, "there are men there fully capable of executing this plot in the name of the Assembly."

"If they will attack me in the name of the Assembly," was the reply, "they must not forget that I will defend myself in the name of France."

Nothing, however, was done, except that a formal order of the day appeared on the 2d of November, signed by General Changarnier, commanding the army to abstain from every demonstration, and to utter no cry whatever, when under arms. In fact, instead of an attempt being made by the committee to seize the prince's person, all Paris was thrown into consternation, on the 8th of November, by an article in the *Journal des*

*Debats*, containing the details of a dreadful plot, concocted by some members of the society of the 10th of December, to murder M. Dupin and General Changarnier. The individuals, said the journal, cast lots; he who drew the ticket marked C declared he was ready to execute the decree of the society against Changarnier, but the drawer of the letter D did not seem reconciled to the task of killing M. Dupin. This society of the 10th of December, formed nearly two years before, and containing many personal friends of the prince, had latterly become the subject of much complaint, whether well or ill founded. The new accusation, however, was too monstrous to be believed. General Piat, the president, came out in a card, in which he declared, "on his military honor, that the society had never meddled in politics; and as to the *plot*, he would not degrade his entire life by condescending to deny the existence of a meeting of which murder could have been the object." Notwithstanding this emphatic denial, and although the prefect of the police qualified the whole affair as a hoax, as it was afterwards indeed proved to be by the conviction of the witness for perjury, such an outcry was raised against the society of the 10th of December, now consisting of more than fifteen hundred members, that the president ordered the minister of the interior to pronounce its dissolution.

On the 11th of November, 1850, the Assembly resumed its session, and next day M. Baroche, who had succeeded M. Ferdinand Barrot in the ministry of the interior, read the president's annual message. This document, after giving a complete description of the state of affairs in general, as usual, passed in review, by turns, each branch of the administration. Speaking of the expedition to Rome, it said, —

"Our arms have overthrown that turbulent demagoguism which has compromised the cause of real liberty throughout the Italian peninsula, and our brave soldiers have had the signal honor of restoring Pius IX. to the throne of St. Peter. Party spirit shall never obscure this fact, which will always form a glorious page in the history of France. The constant aim of our exertions has been to encourage the liberal and philanthropic dispositions of the Holy Father. The pontifical power continues to realize the promises contained in the *Motu Proprio* of September, 1849."

Touching questions that most deeply engaged the minds of all, the message spoke with reserve, though the meaning of several passages was clear enough. Towards the end, it said, —

"Notwithstanding the difficulty of circumstances, law and authority have so far recovered their empire that now no one dreams of the success of violent measures. But, on the other hand, the more fears diminish regarding the present, the more they increase regarding the future. *France first of all wants repose.* She is hardly yet recovered from the dangers that threatened society, and remains indifferent to quarrels between parties or individuals, in the presence of the great interests that are at stake."

Farther on, he says, —

"As first magistrate of the republic, I have been obliged to put myself in communication with the clergy, the magistracy, the agriculturists, the manufacturers, the people, in short, and the army; and I have taken care to seize every opportunity to show them my gratitude for the support they have given me. If my name and my efforts have succeeded in arousing the spirit of the

army, of which I alone, according to the terms of the constitution, have the power to dispose, it is a service, I venture to say, which I have rendered the country, for I have always directed my personal influence to the advantage of order.

"It is now permitted to every one, except myself, to desire the speedy revision of our fundamental law. If the constitution contains vices and dangers, you are at liberty to hold them up before the gaze of the country. I alone, bound down by my oath, circumscribe myself within its strictly drawn limits.

"The councils general have, in great numbers, expressed a wish for its revision. This wish is addressed to the legislative power. *As for me, the elect of the people, amenable but to the people, I shall always conform to the wishes of the people, legally expressed.*

"If in this session you vote the revision of the constitution, our fundamental laws shall be reformed, and the system of the executive authority regulated; if you do not vote it, *the people, in 1852, will solemnly manifest the expression of their new wishes.* But whatever may be the solutions of the future, let us understand each other, so that it may never be left to passion, or surprise, or violence, to decide the fate of a great nation. Let us inspire the people with a love of repose, by introducing calmness into our deliberations: let us inspire them with a love of rectitude, by never forgetting its dictates ourselves: then, rely upon it, the progress made in our political morals will compensate for *the danger of institutions created in days of suspicions and uncertainties.*

"What occupies me especially is, not to know who shall govern France in 1852, but to employ the time at

my disposal in such a manner that the transition, whatever it may be, may take place without trouble or agitation.

"The employment which is noblest and worthiest of a generous soul is, not to seek, when one is in power, by what expedients he can retain himself there, but to seek incessantly for the means of consolidating, for the benefit of all, those principles of authority and morality which are continually struggling with the passions of men and the instability of the laws.

"I have loyally opened my heart to you; you will correspond to my frankness by your confidence, to my good intentions by your coöperation, and God will do the rest."

From the passages which we have Italicized it will be seen that he firmly asserted his claim to the sole command of the army; that, being amenable only to the people, he was determined to accept nothing from the Assembly; that he foretold the revision of the constitution in 1852 by the people; and finally, that he stigmatized the constitution itself as a creation of days of suspicions and uncertainties. However, these glimpses of personal policy passed almost unnoticed in the favor with which the entire message was generally received.

Regarding this message, a trick was played on the inhabitants of Paris, which created an excitement not soon completely calmed. On the morning of the meeting of the Assembly, a long document appeared in the columns of the *Presse* newspaper, purporting to be the president's message, and signed Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. It was so cleverly done that almost every one was deceived, though long before three o'clock, when the paper was seized, the cheat had been discovered.

The point of the witty imposture lay in the fact that every word in the false message had been written by Louis Napoleon himself. It was a *mosaic* composed of sentences taken here and there from his various works. No wonder many were startled. It may be easily imagined how "liberal" a message could be manufactured out of such materials, and how oddly the lucubrations of the German exile and the prisoner of Ham would sound on the world's ear, when put forward as the cool and well-weighed phrases of the president of the French republic. The proprietor of the *Presse* was immediately tried and condemned for having published false intelligence of a nature to trouble the public tranquillity.

The public tranquillity at this time did not appear much troubled. France never seemed more calm. For some time after the opening of the Assembly, little occurred of a nature to interest newsmongers. But the public mind was not the less agitated. Though eighteen months had yet to elapse before the presidency would expire, the interval seemed nothing: uneasiness for the future altogether absorbed the present. Every one was continually thinking or talking of the events which the fearful year of 1852 might bring forth. The suspense was terrible, and it was not alleviated by reflecting that every day, as it passed, would render the difficulty still more complicated.

Disputes in the Assembly commenced with the new year. On the 3d of January, 1851, an article appeared in a Bonapartist paper, *La Patrie*, charging General Changarnier with having given very arbitrary orders to his troops a year and a half previously. It quoted the orders, and pledged itself for their authenticity. In the Assembly, on the same day, Prince Napoleon Bonaparte



begged the minister of war to inform the house what *were* the orders issued at the time. The minister asked a delay of twenty-four hours to search for the necessary papers. The Assembly demanded an immediate answer. The prince said that General Changarnier had committed an unconstitutional act if he had issued the orders quoted in the newspaper. The general denied their authenticity, and then added these strange words:—

*“In no instructions of mine has the constitutional right of the Assembly to call out the troops been controverted, no more than that the same right can be delegated to the president of the Assembly.”*

This was not only introducing a new question into discussion, but actually setting the executive and legislative powers at open war. The Assembly had been for some time trying to found its claims to the disposal of the army on a peculiar explanation of the thirty-second article of the constitution, of which, being loosely worded, it seemed susceptible. It was, therefore, with great delight that it saw General Changarnier, “the third power in the state,” pronouncing so decidedly in favor of parliamentary sovereignty. It was so well pleased to see him thus abandoning the executive, and declaring himself and his sword at the command of the legislative, that it would not give the minister of war time to examine the documents, and by a triumphant majority expressed itself perfectly satisfied with the general’s explanation.

But the minister of war was determined to resign. “Prince,” said he to the president, “there is no longer a minister of war, since the Assembly arrogates to itself the right to command the army, and give orders to all, generals and troops.” The prince accepted his resigna-

tion, but at the same time decided on removing General Changarnier. He did not announce the dismissal at once: it was dangerous to do so before strengthening himself by the formation of a ministry that possessed some influence in the Assembly. After some negotiations, however, finding this idea impracticable, he formed a new cabinet as well as he could, and on the 9th of January, General Changarnier was deprived of his command. Generals Perrot and Baraguy d'Hilliers were appointed in his place. This bold step, though totally unexpected, was so acceptable to the country that funds rose immediately.

It excited, however, one of the stormiest scenes ever witnessed in the Assembly. The "Party of Order" was exceedingly exasperated at the loss of their champion. M. de Lanjuinais commenced by proposing that "the National Assembly, whilst recognizing the incontestable right of the executive power to dispose of military commands, blames the use which the ministry has made of this power, and declares that the ex-commander-in-chief of the army of Paris still preserves every title to the testimony of confidence given him by the Assembly, in the session of the 3d of January." M. Berryer said that "a state of things like the present could not continue, and should not continue." Lamartine had the courage to defend the president, characterizing the dismissal as an act of pure government in which the Assembly had no right to interfere. General Changarnier said, "The country is divided between five parties; the legitimists, the Orleanists, the moderate republicans, the demagogues, and finally, those men who desire the imperial dictatorship, even without the glory and the genius from which it is inseparable." M. Thiers made a most

bitter speech, two hours long, turning on his former friend with the utmost vindictiveness. "If the Assembly yields to-day," he concluded, "the order may come when it will, but — the empire is constituted!" General Cavaignac joined in the onslaught, saying pleasantly to his new political allies, "Certainly you appear in no great humor to constitute the empire." The coalition triumphed by an immense majority; the Assembly, heedless that such conduct was "cornering" the president, forcing him into a position in which he was left no alternative but to destroy his enemies or be destroyed himself, passed a resolution of want of confidence in the ministry.

Louis Napoleon, however, had gained his point; Changarnier was removed; the ministry, of course, was obliged to retire before such a storm; but the president, instead of choosing a new cabinet among a majority that had shown such hostility, or among a minority where a combination of members was impossible, solved the difficulty by forming a "transition ministry" from men of neither party, and who were not indeed even members of the Assembly. Such a state of things lasted, with little variation, for three months, and the wheels of government were in every danger of finally coming to a dead lock.

The socialists contemplated these quarrels with joy. Hope and confidence increased among them as they saw the breach growing wider every day between the only two recognized powers in the state. Their bulletins, distributed in thousands throughout Paris by invisible agents, cried continually, "Organize, organize! let men of heart understand each other; we are all aware that the struggle is not far off." Society seemed indifferent

to its danger. After the wild, feverish emotions of the revolution, it seemed fallen into a fit of stupor from which it could not be aroused. M. Romieu, a thoughtful and eloquent writer, saw the abyss into which France was sinking, and gave loud notice of warning. He said plainly that there was no alternative between the reign of the sabre and the reign of the torch, and positively foretold the approach of a military dictatorship, as the necessary solution of the difficulties brought on by such follies and crimes.

"In 1852," said he in a remarkable passage, "if no event in the mean time precipitate a catastrophe, we shall see the people rise to a man, and in contempt of the laws, with reason regarding them as so many bits of paper, deposit their interdicted votes, regard them valid in spite of the interdiction, and say next day to France, 'Behold the voice of the people! Obey!' Then shall the silence that now rocks you asleep be cut short. Then shall be understood the true meaning of the revolution of February. Then shall be understood the inevitable necessity of a death struggle to set at rest forever this lawsuit about privations and enjoyments. In the roar of the colossal chaos of the masses, no tribune, no press, shall utter a sound. The fabulous arsenal of the codes shall display its emptiness. There shall be no law but the law of force written in characters of brass. An unparalleled struggle shall take place. The army is ready for any battle; discipline in its ranks has effaced the power of old sentiments; the soldier, like the monk, obeys only his rules and his superiors. He has meddled little with our discussions, which he disdains; his uniform is his party. In the frightful shock, the army will obey whoever shall be able to command it. And then," he

exclaimed in the language of a prophet, "at the last hour of such a battle, he, who shall be the conqueror, (whether he be the present chief of the state or some one born of circumstances,) he who, the survivor, or the wisest of the chiefs, shall behold resistance prostrate, and shall wipe his reeking but triumphant sword after smiting the insurrection — he can not only take his place in the list of useful and great men, but he shall be omnipotent; he will only have to breathe on the card castle of 1789, and say in his turn, 'THE STATE, IT IS I!'"\*

These words fell on empty ears. The country would not listen, and the Assembly preferred quarrelling with the president. An occasion soon came. It will be remembered that a supplementary sum of two million one hundred and sixty thousand francs (four hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars) had been granted in June for the presidential expenses of 1850. For the expenses of 1851, the minister of finances on the 3d of February presented the *dotation* bill, asking the appropriation of one million eight hundred thousand francs, (three hundred and sixty thousand dollars.) A committee of fourteen, appointed to examine the demand, gave in a most hostile report, saying that the "executive power had not acted correspondingly with the benevolence with which it had been treated." The discussion, the result of which every body knew beforehand, took place on the 10th of February.

Montalembert saw all the fatal consequences of his colleagues' furious conduct, and by the most eloquent reasoning endeavored to arrest them in their wild career.

"I am neither the guarantee," he said, "nor the

\* *Le Spectre Rouge.*

friend, nor the counsellor, nor the advocate of the president of the republic; I am only his witness. Well! I declare it conscientiously, he has acted in no respect unworthy of this great cause or order which we all serve, and of which so many supporters seem to blame him to-day. Am I competent to give such testimony? I say it unaffectedly, yes. The army of order has not a defender more devoted, more daring, more compromised than I. If then I have acquired any confidence, give me the benefit of it when I declare that the president of the republic has remained faithful to his mission, that he has succeeded in restoring society, reëstablishing order, and keeping down demagoguism."

Elsewhere he said, "The parliamentary quarrels under the monarchy are to-day remembered neither with love nor respect. And public opinion, let me tell you, is not pleased to witness these same fatal pastimes, these old state coalitions, making their appearance now under the same old leaders." He told the Assembly that they *could not* subdue the president. "The legislative power," said he, "was deprived of half its *prestige* when the executive was elected directly by the people, when a single man was elected by five million suffrages, and something more than a royalty thus established. Why don't you understand? Each of you represents but a seven hundred and fiftieth part of the sovereignty. Standing beside you is a single man who in himself alone represents the national will."

He thus concluded: "Permit me to address the two powers, and to say to both with a loyal voice, Cease this impious war, which can be profitable only to our common enemy. I implore you both to spare the country, to have regard for its repose and your own, and remember your good name is at stake. Yes, if when

we arrive at the fatal crisis of 1852 we are still fighting, the people will justly think that each of us has preferred his own private idol to the altar of his country. The electors will say, "Look at those Whites! They can do nothing but quarrel; let us name the Reds!" And what shall come from all this? "Not an empire. Not a parliamentary government. No, but socialism. And not a brutal and ephemeral socialism, of which we might easily rid ourselves, but a legal, an electoral socialism, an evil admitting no remedy, the destruction of France and of civilization." He might as well have addressed the winds. The dotation bill was rejected with a majority of one hundred and two, the votes being three hundred and ninety-six to two hundred and ninety-four.

This harshness of the Assembly, instead of pleasing the country, had the contrary effect of increasing the general sympathy for the president. In anticipation of the rejection of the bill, a subscription had been set on foot which already amounted to a considerable sum, and under the name of a national offering was to be presented for his acceptance. This, however, he firmly and at once declined to receive, and immediately announced his intention of conforming to the desires of the Assembly, by diminishing the expenses of the presidency. He put an end to balls at the Elysée for the rest of the season, gave up all expensive dinners and receptions, sold nearly all his carriages and horses, and retained only the most indispensable of his domestics and clerks.

He did not find it so easy to form a ministry. A period of three months was consumed in long and useless negotiations on the subject. At last, a cabinet having MM. Baroche, Leon Faucher, and Achille Fould at its head, was formed, which seemed to please the coalition tolerably well; for when, according to the usual custom,

a member of the Left presented an order of the day expressing a want of confidence, the proposition was rejected by a majority of fifty-two voices.

Three topics exclusively engaged public attention at this time : the fusion of the rival branches of the Bourbons, the repeal of the electoral law, and the revision of the constitution. As to a combination between the royalists, reports were very contradictory. Now, it was the Orleans princes that held back ; now, the Count de Chambord. The people at large, however, took very little interest in these rumors ; nobody, except the partisans in the Assembly, seriously believing that a Bourbon dynasty was henceforth possible in France. The repeal of the electoral law, however, by which universal suffrage had been so mutilated, was loudly demanded. The Assembly was generally opposed to it, but it was universally understood that the president would never rest until it was carried. This promised to precipitate matters, and people looked forward with much anxiety for the result.

The revision of the constitution also portended much trouble. On the 28th of May, 1851, the Assembly entered on its third year of legislation, when it was empowered by article one hundred and eleventh to revise the constitution. To do so, this article prescribed three successive deliberations, at intervals of a month each, and a three fourths vote of all present (at least five hundred) as absolutely necessary for that purpose. Otherwise revision was impossible. This absurd provision thus enabled one hundred and eighty-eight out of seven hundred and fifty representatives to set the whole country at defiance ; and, worse still, by rendering the least modification in the constitution almost impossible, it threatened its total and impending destruction.



Nevertheless, petitions innumerable continually pouring in from all parts of the country left no doubt as to the wishes of France on the subject. During the month of May nearly ten thousand flooded the tribunes. It was such a dangerous matter, however, to handle, that, loudly as it was called for, parties generally seemed unwilling to approach it, and under one pretence or another, the discussion was deferred to the latest moment possible.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Famous Dijon Speech, in which Louis Napoleon announces his Disagreement with the Assembly and his Determination to obey the Will of France.—Anger of the Assembly, and General Changarnier's Outbreak.—Discussion on the Revision of the Constitution.—Victor Hugo's angry Apostrophe.—Rejection of the Bill.—The Assembly is prorogued.—Candidates for 1852.—Alarming State of France.—Spread of Socialism.—Who is to make Head against it?—Louis Napoleon's Policy.—Was it perjured?—Was it not his only Alternative.—Return of the Assembly.—President's Message advocating the Revision.—Revision rejected by a Majority of Three.—A Bill claiming the direct Authority of the Assembly over the Army is defeated through the Aid of the Mountain.—Louis Napoleon again publicly announces his Policy.—New Bill introduced re-asserting the Authority of the Assembly over the Army, and defining Grounds for impeaching the President.—The Crisis approaches.*

It was whilst the public mind was almost exclusively occupied with the "revision" question that Louis Na-

oleon delivered the famous speech which clearly announced to the world his fixed determination to abide by the will of France, come what might. A railroad was to be opened on the 1st of June at Dijon, to which ceremony the president and many other members of the government were invited. He accepted the invitation, and, starting from Paris the previous evening, spent the night in Sens, at the archbishop's palace. Here he was joined next morning by the ministers, the president of the Assembly, many representatives, and the other Parisian guests. His progress through the country resembled a triumph. "*Vive Napoleon!*" and "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were the only cries that greeted him at the stations. After dinner, the mayor of Dijon, in drinking the president's health, presented to the "inheritor of the name that had raised the glory of France highest all the best wishes of a country which, without doubt, should find in the exercise of her sovereignty the best expression of her gratitude."

The prince made the following reply :—

"I wish that such persons as entertain apprehensions regarding the future had accompanied me through the populations of the Yonne and the Cote d'Or. They would have had their minds set at rest by being able to judge for themselves of the real state of public feeling. They would have seen that neither intrigue, nor attacks, nor passionate discussions of parties are in harmony with the sentiments and the situation of the country.

"France does not wish either the return of the ancient *régime*—no matter under what form it may be disguised—or the trial of evil and impracticable Utopias. It is because I am the most natural adversary of the one and the other, that she has placed her confidence in me.

If it be not so, how else can be explained this touching sympathy entertained by the people towards me, which, whilst it repels the most ruinous controversies, absolves me from being the cause of their sufferings?

"In fact, if my government has not realized all the ameliorations which it has had in view, the blame lies in the manœuvres of factions which paralyze the good dispositions of Assemblies, as well as those of governments the most devoted to the public good. For the last three years it could be remarked that I was always seconded whenever the question was to subdue disorder by coercive enactments. And whenever I wished to do good, to establish the landed influence or to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes, I met with nothing but inertness. It is because you have shared those convictions that I have found in patriotic Burgundy such a reception as is at once for me both approbation and encouragement.

"I take advantage of this banquet, as if it were a public tribune, to open to my fellow-citizens the bottom of my heart. A new phase of our political life is commencing. From one end of France to the other, petitions are being signed in favor of the revision of the constitution; I await with confidence the manifestation of the country and the decision of the Assembly, which can only be actuated by the sole thought of the public good. If France feels that she must not be disposed of against her will, France has but to say so; she shall not be without my courage and my energy.

"Since I came into power, I have proved how much, in the presence of the grave interests of society, I disregarded whatever affected myself personally. The most unjust and the most violent attacks have failed to affect

my attitude of calmness. Whatever duties the country may impose, she shall find me resolute to execute her will. And believe me, gentlemen, France shall not perish in my hands."

The prince sat down amid the most enthusiastic cheering, in which, it is hardly necessary to say, the representatives present took no part.

It may be easily imagined with what displeasure these "detestable and factious phrases," as they were termed, were received by the Assembly. The spirit of the whole debate to which they gave rise may be understood from General Changarnier's outbreak. The minister of war, speaking on a motion relative to military rewards, had protested against admitting any other doctrine than that of passive obedience by the army to the orders of its chiefs. Colonel Charras, controverting this, said, "There are certain inexorable circumstances in which the law of obedience gives way, like all other laws. I hope," he added, half mockingly, "that there is no man enterprising enough to direct the battalions against the Assembly, as on the 18th of Brumaire."

General Changarnier then stood up and said, —

"A grave question has been raised; and, in consequence of what has been said, I think it necessary to put an end to the apprehensions expressed by M. Charras. According to the assertions of certain persons, the army is ready, in its enthusiasm, to act against the laws of the country, and to change the form of government. In the first place, and to show that such cannot be the case, it is sufficient for me to ask, Where is there any motive for such enthusiasm? (Laughter on the Left.) I may add, that the army, profoundly penetrated with the sentiment of its duty, with the feeling of what is due to its

own dignity, desires no more than you to inflict on France the wretchedness and shame of the government of the Cæsars, when emperors were successively raised to power or hurled to the earth by drunken Prætorian Guards. (Great agitation.) Discipline is deeply rooted in the French army. The soldiers will always hear the voice of their chiefs ; but no one will ever induce the soldiers to march against the right, against the Assembly ; not a single battalion could be induced to follow for such a purpose, whoever might be the officers whom they are accustomed to obey. Consequently, representatives of France, deliberate in peace." (Agitation.)

But, however strongly the Assembly might condemn the president for his Dijon speech, it certainly raised him considerably in the general estimation throughout France. Petitions for the revision came in in greater numbers, and now nearly all expressed a wish to retain him at the head of affairs by prolonging the term of his presidency. From Paris and the neighborhood alone, a petition signed by eleven thousand artisans and manufacturers, besides demanding the revision, prayed for the prolongation of Louis Napoleon's powers for ten years.

The discussion at last commenced on the 14th of July, and ended on the 19th. M. Berryer and the legitimists pleaded in favor of the total revision. General Cavaignac and his friends, unwilling to expose the republican institutions of the country to the least risk, were opposed to any revision whatever. The Mountain was opposed to revision as long as universal suffrage was restrained. The Bonapartists limited their wishes to an alteration of article 45, which prohibited the re-election of Louis Napoleon. To many this was the great redeeming feature of the constitution, fully com-

pensating for all its defects. Victor Hugo especially distinguished himself by his furious tirade against the president.

"What!" said he, "is it because, after a thousand years, a man came and picked up the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne — is it because this man, whose name is synonymous with Rivoli, with Jena, with Friedland, dropped in his turn this sword and sceptre, that *you* want to pick them up? Pick them up as *he* picked them up after Charlemagne? Pick them up with *your* puny hands? What! after Augustus Augustulus? What! because we have had a Napoleon the Great, must we have a Napoleon the Little?"

Odillon Barrot closed the debate in an able speech. "Every one acknowledges," said he, "the radical, the innate vices of the constitution. And is all society to be exposed to destruction because by a revision the present president might have a chance of being reëlected? Gentlemen, if you refuse to revise the constitution for this single reason, you give the man you thus reject a great part to play."

When the voting took place the number present was 724: 446 were for the revision, 278 against it. According to the terms of article 111, 543 in the affirmative were necessary. The project was then rejected. The defeat, effected by a union between the Orleanists and the Mountain, was generally expected, and created no surprise. Yet the country had so set its heart on the project that even during the month of August petitions praying for revision continued to come in, and eighty, out of the eighty-six departments of France, by their counsels general still expressed their strongest wishes for the measure.

This was the last battle of the campaign. The Assembly adjourned from the 10th of August to the 4th of November, and, as usual, left behind a permanent committee of twenty-five charged to watch over the state in their absence.

People now began talking of the candidates for the presidential chair of 1852. The Orleanists spoke of putting forward the Prince de Joinville, though he did not appear desirous to enter the contest — at least, he never declared his mind openly on the subject. The legitimists spoke of M. de la Rochejaquelein, with the expectation of his becoming another General Monk, and restoring the throne to Henry V. Some republicans spoke of General Cavaignac, others of M. Carnot. A strong portion of the Bourgeoisie supported the claims of General Changarnier. The Mountain did not forget Ledru Rollin or Raspail.

The country was becoming more and more uneasy. Whilst the Orleanist chiefs, meeting in London to celebrate the anniversary of Louis Philippe's death, turned the mournful spectacle into a political manifestation, and the Count de Chambord, at his residence in Frohsdorff, near Vienna, was striking out plans for the coming campaign, the socialist chiefs were not idle. Many of the most active leaders had been discovered by the police, tried, and condemned; but their places were readily filled by as ardent and as implacable successors. It often happened that the impatience of the poorer classes could not wait for the regular signal; in many departments in the centre, Cher, Allier, Nièvre, &c., and in some in the south, as Ardeche, the excited peasantry rang the bells, collected together and marched through the country, uttering threats of pillage, conflagration,

and death against the "Whites" and the "Aristos." Such districts had to be declared in a state of siege; the riotous bands were not always dispersed without bloodshed; keeping the country in a constant state of alarm, they offered a fearful prelude to the grand insurrection of 1852.

What a deplorable condition France now presented! We do not wish to dwell on the picture. It is enough to seize the outlines. A network of secret societies covered the land. Poor unthinking people, suffering from poverty and its attendant evils, and forgetting that man is born to suffer, and that for the most of such grievances industry, patience, and Christian resignation form the only real and effectual remedy, were easily led astray by newer and more seductive doctrines.

Interested or fanatic expositors had little difficulty in convincing them that the rich were naturally the enemies of the poor, that property was robbery, that law was tyranny, that society was a monstrous heap of abuses, of which an end should be made immediately by dissolving it into its original elementary condition, when nothing belonged to any body, and every thing was in common. In the new order of affairs there should be no rich, no poor, no prohibitions, no crimes, no prisons, no punishments, no wars, no religions, but all should socially dwell together, fraternally united by *holy* equality. People had become perfectly frenzied on such Utopias as these. They not only considered them realizable, but deemed themselves justified in going any lengths to enforce them. Confiscation of property and destruction of life were regarded as perfectly lawful means for such an end. "*Vive la Guillotine!*" was as common a cry almost as "*Vive la Republique!*" When



they thought an opportunity appeared they took advantage of it, and they fought with all the bravery of enthusiasm, and all the coolness of settled conviction. See the carnage of the battles of July. Ten thousand lives lost in three days in one city!

What was to resist this furious torrent when it would burst on France in 1852? Nothing but the army could attempt it. But was the army willing to attempt it? That depends upon its having a recognized leader. Such a leader neither Changarnier nor Cavaignac could pretend to be. Any popular general might rally a few troops around his standard in the terrible *mêlée*, but no one will venture to say that the army, generally, would yield the devoted obedience that constitutes the real effectiveness of an army to any leader but the nephew of him who had made French soldier and hero synonymous terms. What could the Assembly do? It was already despised, if not detested, throughout France, as an obstacle in the way of effectual government. Its unwise conduct had too often made the people regard it, we do not say altogether deservedly, as a disjointed conglomeration of talking, self-seeking, ill-mannered individuals, earning their twenty-five francs a day by doing as much mischief as they could. Could such an Assembly keep down the insurrection? Plainly not. Could Henry V., or the Prince de Joinville, at the head of their partisans, preserve order? No honest, thinking man, legitimist or Orleanist, will say so.

What then was the state of things? The country was on the verge of a frightful revolution. The executive, with all its vigilance, could do no more than defer the explosion. The Assembly, instead of assisting the president to govern legally and constitutionally, ren-

dered such a course on his part almost impossible. For fear Louis Napoleon Bonaparte might be their *legal, constitutional* president in 1852, they would not revise an impracticable constitution, though implored to do so by two millions of petitioners, and by eighty out of the eighty-six departments of France. They persisted in refusing the right to vote to three millions of French citizens, though it was by their votes that they themselves had obtained authority. Carried away by the petulant wit of Victor Hugo, the sneering selfishness of Thiers, by their own cankered prejudices, by every thing but common sense and a proper regard for the voice of the nation at large, they entered into a conspiracy to seize the president on a charge of high treason, and fling into prison, perhaps shoot, the very man on whose head the safety of France, of Europe, was depending. What did Louis Napoleon intend to do in the case? To give up to his unreasoning enemies, and thus plunge France into one of the bloodiest civil wars that ever deluged the earth? No. He thought he could not do so until France had spoken her mind on the subject. She had elected him to protect her, and she looked at him still as her only hope of safety. *She* should be consulted. Her will was the foundation of all authority. He would make one more attempt to induce the Assembly to call upon the voice of the nation. If the Assembly consented — well and good, let affairs take their course. If the Assembly did not consent — then the appeal should be made *without* the consent of the Assembly. Such was his final resolve.

But was not this a violation of his oath to the constitution? Was not this perjury? It may have been a *verbal* violation of his oath, but we must confess, as far

as we can judge, to us it does not seem perjury. Perjury is breaking a lawful oath, or taking an unlawful one. No one says he took an unlawful, and we do not think he broke a lawful, oath. At first sight no oath seems more lawful, or more inviolable, than the oath of allegiance to the constitution of our country. But even of such an oath circumstances may arise of a nature to render the obligatory power very doubtful. Such an oath acts both ways. When we swear to obey the constitution, it is with the well *understood though not expressed condition*, that if *we* owe it obedience *it* owes us protection. Its failure, through inability, or unwillingness, in complying with its obligation, should absolve us from ours. When Louis Napoleon swore to obey the constitution, who can say that he then bound himself to a blind, unconditional obedience to mere words, to be rigidly followed out, even if it led to the destruction of the country? Clearly, he was obliged to take the oath only because every body thought that the constitution would prove beneficial to France. The inviolability of a constitution seems to us to depend altogether on its utility. If even tolerably good, it should be sacred and inviolable; if evidently bad and unsuitable, every means should be taken to reform it immediately. For, what is the constitution? Is it a divine precept, like the commandments? If so, no consideration whatever can justify its infraction, because it comes from God. Is it an instrument framed by the wisdom of man so skilfully and wisely as to prove the means of insuring to the generality even a moderate share of tranquillity, liberty, and happiness? Then also is its violation unjustifiable, for it would be a fearful injury to society. But if it is a document which not only does *not* insure even tolera-

ble tranquillity, liberty, or happiness, but from its very nature contains such radical defects as to make anarchy, or, at all events, universal confusion, almost an inevitable consequence, then is it perjury to violate it? Hardly. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. If a man takes an oath which, he afterwards finds out, denies him the right to defend himself in case of a murderous attack, is he bound to observe it? Our great Washington had not a spark of personal ambition in his noble nature; but if he clearly saw that his country was in such a state that it was only waiting for the termination of his first presidential term to blaze out into a terrible civil war, would he have retired unconcernedly at the end of the four years? We doubt it. We will even say, supposing he was convinced, — *provided always the country evidently agreed with his conclusions* — that our constitution, from its nature, could not enable people to live together peaceably, that it was unfitted for the country, that it was a curse instead of a blessing, it is our decided opinion that he would be bound in conscience to pronounce it a false constitution, no constitution at all, and that, moreover, he should feel himself obliged to employ every means in his power, even a temporary usurpation of the sovereign authority if necessary, to rescue the country from the impending calamities.

Taking every thing into consideration, then, the natural conclusion seems to be this: if Louis Napoleon thought that the constitution was satisfactory in its principles and provisions to the French people generally, or that it afforded them even a tolerable chance of a government able to maintain itself, to defend its subjects from violence, and to distribute justice — if he believed this and still violated the constitution, then he was a

usurper and a perjurer. But if he believed the constitution, from its glaring unfitness, to be an execration in the mouths of four fifths of the community — which it was ; if he believed that its continuance would only plunge the country into a horrible suicidal contest — which, to judge from the signs of the times, hardly admits the shadow of a doubt ; if he thought himself able to spare the world the sin, the horror, and the agony of such an impious war — and subsequent circumstances have shown that he was not wrong in his calculation ; then we say, idol as he already was of the vast majority of the French people, heir as he was already by prescriptive right to the imperial throne, possessed as he already was of the sovereign authority elected as he had been by six millions to watch over the welfare of France, he was instigated by every motive of honor, humanity, and patriotism, to do exactly as he has done. He saw the difficulties of his situation, he devised the means of overcoming them, he staked his life on the venture, he succeeded, and thus put off the fearful day, perhaps for a long time. Instead of crying out “treachery” then, “perjury,” or “usurpation,” all good Frenchmen should, *as universal France at present does*, recognize the vast benefits resulting to the country from the reign of such a man ; and if they do not, like some, see the hand of Heaven leading him to the imperial throne, to save society from the fearful perils that are still impending over Europe, they should at least consider it as an extremely fortunate circumstance for France that he has shown himself, so far, *the right man in the right place at the right time*.

To resume our narrative. Louis Napoleon was determined to have the restrained suffrage law of the 31st of

May repealed. Many of his ministers not agreeing with him as to the propriety of such a measure, he accepted their resignation on the 15th of October, and after two months of a ministerial crisis, he had another cabinet formed, in which Leroy St. Arnaud, a general who had gained great distinction in Africa, was minister of war, and M. de Maupas, prefect of Haute Garonne, minister of police. On the 4th of November the Assembly returned, and the minister of the interior read the annual message, which, after a few preliminaries, thus opened : —

“A vast demagogical conspiracy is now organizing in France and Europe. Secret societies are endeavoring to extend their ramifications even into the smallest communes. Without being able to agree on men or things, they have agreed to bring all the madness, the violence, and the obduracy of parties to a focus in 1852, not to construct, but to overthrow.

“Your patriotism and your courage, with which I will endeavor to keep pace, will, I am sure, save France from the dangers with which she is threatened. But to conquer these dangers we must look at them without fear and without exaggeration ; and, whilst convinced, thanks to the strength of the administration, to the enlightened zeal of the magistrates, and to the devotion of the army, that France cannot perish, let us unite our efforts to deprive the spirit of evil even of the hope of a momentary success.

“The best means to attain this end has always appeared to me the application of that system which consists, on the one hand, in satisfying the legitimate interests ; and, on the other, in stifling, at the moment of their appearance, the slightest symptoms of an attack against religion, morality, or society.

“Thus, to procure labor by granting to companies our great lines of railway, and with the money which the state will procure from these projects to give a strong impulse to the other works in all the departments ; to encourage the institutions destined to develop agricultural or commercial credit ; to come, by the establishment of charitable institutions, to the assistance of poverty, — such has been, and such still must be, our first care ; and it is by following this course that it will be easier to recur to means of repression when their necessity shall have become felt.”

After describing the state of the country, he comes to the grand feature of the message — the restoration of universal suffrage. He uses every argument to urge them to an adoption of the measure.

“The state of general uneasiness,” he says, “is increasing every day. Employment grows slack, poverty spreads, the interests become more apprehensive, and expectations hostile to society become more exulting as the almost exhausted public authorities approach their term.

“In such a state of things, my duty is the same to-day as it was yesterday. It consists in maintaining order, and in removing every occasion of disturbance, so that the resolutions which are to decide our fate may be conceived in tranquillity and adopted in peace.

“These resolutions can emanate only from a decisive act of the national sovereignty, since they have popular election for a basis. Well ! I have asked myself whether, in the presence of the delirium of passions, of the confusion of doctrines, of the division of parties, when every thing is combined to attack morality, justice, and authority, we ought to leave shaken and incomplete the

only principle which, in the middle of the general chaos, Providence has kept standing to rally us around it.

“ Since universal suffrage has reconstructed the social edifice by substituting a right for a revolutionary fact, is it wise in us to narrow its basis any longer ? Finally, I have asked myself if, when new powers shall preside over the destinies of the country, it would not be compromising their stability beforehand to leave behind us a pretext for questioning their origin, or for misrepresenting their legitimacy ?

“ No doubt on the subject was possible ; and without wishing to swerve for a single instant from the policy of order which I have always followed out, I have been obliged, much to my regret, to separate from a cabinet which possessed all my confidence, in order to choose another, which, equally composed of honorable men publicly known for their conservative sentiments, has moreover consented to admit the necessity of reëstablishing universal suffrage on the broadest possible basis.

“ You will, therefore, have presented to you the draught of a law which restores the principle in all its fulness.

“ The project has no features which can offend this Assembly ; for, if I think it expedient to ask to-day for the withdrawal of the law of the 31st of May, I do not mean to deny the approbation which I gave at that time to the cabinet which claimed from the chief of the majority, whose work it was, the honor of presenting it.

“ If we remember the circumstances under which this law was presented, we shall not, I believe, refuse to allow that it was an act of policy, rather than an electoral law, that it was really and truly a measure to insure the



public tranquillity. Whenever the majority shall propose to me energetic measures for the safety of the country, it may rely on my loyal and disinterested support. But even the best of such measures have but a limited time.

“The law of the 31st of May has, in its application, even gone beyond the object intended to be attained. No one foresaw the suppression of three millions of electors, two thirds of whom are peaceful inhabitants of the country. What has been the result? Why, that this exclusion has served as a pretext to the anarchist party, who cloak their detestable designs by appearing to conquer back a right of which they had been despoiled. Too weak in numbers to take possession of society by their votes, they hope, under favor of the general emotion and the decline of the powers of the state, to kindle at several points of France, instantaneously, troubles which would be quelled, no doubt, but which should inevitably throw us into fresh complications.

“Another serious objection is this: The constitution requires, for the validity of the election of a president by the people, at least two millions of suffrages; and if this number is not made up, the right of election is conferred on the Assembly. The Constituent Assembly had therefore decided that, out of ten million voters inscribed on the lists, one fifth was sufficient to render the election valid.

“At the present time, the number of electors being reduced to seven millions, to require two millions is to invert the proportion; that is to say, it is to demand one third instead of one fifth, and thus, in a certain eventuality, to take the election out of the hands of the people, and give it to the Assembly. It is, therefore,

positively changing the condition of the eligibility of the president of the republic.

“Lastly, I call your particular attention to another reason, which, perhaps, may prove decisive.

“The reestablishment of universal suffrage on its principal basis furnishes an additional chance of obtaining the revision of the constitution. You have not forgotten why the adversaries of this revision refused last session to vote for it. They used this argument, which they knew how to render specious: ‘The constitution,’ said they, ‘which is the work of an Assembly taking its rise in universal suffrage, cannot be modified by an Assembly issuing from a restricted suffrage.’ Whether this be a real motive, or only a pretext, it is expedient to set it aside, and be able to say to those who would bind the country down to an immutable constitution, ‘Behold universal suffrage reestablished. The majority of the Assembly, supported by two millions of petitioners, by the greater number of the councils of arrondissement, and almost unanimously by the councils general, demands the revision of the fundamental compact. Have you less confidence than we in the expression of the popular will?’

“The question, therefore, may be thus stated to all those who desire a pacific solution of the difficulties of the day: ‘The law of the 31st of May has its imperfections; but even were it perfect, should it not, nevertheless, be repealed if it resists the revision of the constitution, that manifest wish of the country?’

“It is objected, I am aware, that on my part these proposals are inspired by personal interest. My conduct for the last three years ought to repel such an allegation. The welfare of the country, I repeat, will always be the

sole moving spring of my conduct. I believe it my duty to propose every means of conciliation, and to use every effort to bring about a pacific, regular, legal solution, whatever may be its issue.

"Thus, then, gentlemen, the proposal I make to you is neither a piece of party tactics, nor an egotistical calculation, nor a sudden resolution ; it is the result of serious meditation and of profound conviction. I do not pretend that this measure will banish all the difficulties of the situation. But to each day its own task.

"To-day to reëstablish universal suffrage is to deprive civil war of its flag, the opposition of its last argument. It is to furnish France with the possibility of giving itself institutions which may insure its tranquillity. It is to give the future powers of the state that moral force which can only exist so long as it reposes on a consecrated principle, and on an incontestable authority."

The message, generally, was heard with much attention ; towards the conclusion, however, where the president brought forward his arguments in favor of repealing the existing electoral law, the conservative benches repeatedly gave expression to their disapprobation.

M. Thorigny, the new minister of the interior, then read the proposed bill repealing the law of the 31st of May, 1850, and reëstablishing that which declared every Frenchman an elector who was twenty-one years of age, and who had resided six months in the same commune. The Assembly did not seem much impressed with the importance of an early decision upon the question. Nine days elapsed before it was brought before the house for regular discussion, and then, in spite of all the exertions of the government, and of every sincere friend of liberty, it was rejected by a majority of three

votes. Have three votes ever had such consequences? Unhappy three votes! You destroyed for many a long day the only favorable opportunity France ever possessed of realizing her ardent and natural aspirations after liberty.

*Troops began arriving in Paris in unusual numbers.*

The adversaries of the government now seemed determined on bringing matters to a crisis. Whilst the committee were still sitting on the revision bill, a proposition was brought forward declaring that the questors, or executive officers of the Assembly, were empowered, by the 32d article of the constitution, to make a *direct requisition* on the army, that is, to call out whatever number of forces they pleased without employing the intervention of the minister of war. This would, of course, establish a military power in the state, independent of the president of the republic. This 32d article, as already quoted, declared that "*the National Assembly fixed the number of troops necessary for its safety, and could dispose of them.*" But as article 50th distinctly stated that "*the president of the republic disposed of the armed forces,*" and, as according to article 64th, "*he alone nominated every civil and military functionary,*" article 32d evidently only meant that the Assembly could declare 'the amount of troops necessary for its safety, and that as soon as these were placed at its disposal, it had the sole right to command them. To claim that the Assembly had the right to make a direct requisition, to call on the army at pleasure, seemed as much as to say that the constitution required soldiers to receive contradictory orders from different commanders at the same time.

Subversive of all military discipline as this proposal

was, still, on the 17th of November, it received the votes of three hundred representatives, and its defeat was altogether due to an unexpected accession of aid from the Mountain party, who said, if they were to have a dictator at all, that they preferred Louis Napoleon to General Changarnier. Of the thirty-two generals that voted, seven only were in the minority ; but among these were Lamericière, Changarnier, and Cavaignac.

On the 25th of November there was a splendid ceremony celebrated in the circus of the Champs Elysées. It was attended by the president, the ministers, the generals, the foreign ambassadors, the members of the council of state, and other distinguished personages. Medals and crosses of the Legion of Honor were to be distributed to the French contributors that had gained prizes at the great London exhibition. The spectators, the *élite* of Paris, amounted to three or four thousand, and presented a very brilliant and animated spectacle. In his speech on this occasion, the president spoke out clearly and resolutely. "France," said he, "must no longer be troubled by demagogical ideas or monarchical hallucinations." Here he was loudly cheered. "Before separating, gentlemen," he concluded, "permit me to encourage you to new labors. Undertake them without apprehension. They will keep the people employed during the winter. *Do not dread the future ; tranquillity shall be maintained whatever may happen.* A government resting on the people, having no other aim than the public good, and animated by the faith that guides us even through trackless routes—such a government will fulfil its mission, for it unites in itself both the right that comes from the people and the might that comes from God."

Though defeated on the 17th, the royalists now prepared another attack on Louis Napoleon. A bill asserting the Assembly's, not the questors', right to *direct requisition*, decreeing the responsibility of the president, and enumerating the cases in which he made himself liable to be accused of high treason, was laid before the house on the 22d of November. One article which it contained interdicted as a crime even the *desire* to be reëlected; it ran thus: "The president can be accused if he makes himself guilty of *provoking* the abrogation of the 45th article of the constitution."

This bill was likely to pass, for the Mountain, whose precarious assistance had sustained the government on the 17th, could be easily detached by the promise of raising the state of siege in those departments where it existed, and by the assurance of a new electoral law. When it passed, what was easier than to indict the president? The act of accusation, prepared by M. Baze, was ready. It would be carried as easily as the bill. By the right of direct requisition all the armed force of the country would be placed under the command of a general devoted to the Assembly, and the president of the republic would be thus left completely in the power of his enemies, who had not yet decided whether to send him to Otaheite or to shoot him in the moat of Vincennes. The bill was referred for report to a committee of fifteen, containing only one member favorable to the executive. The report of course could be easily guessed.

The following decrees, found in the questors' office after the events of the 2d of December, had been already prepared, so that nothing more was necessary, when the moment for action came, than to fill up the blanks:—

## FIRST DECREE.

"The president of the National Assembly,

"Considering article 32 of the constitution thus conceived, — 'The Assembly fixes the amount of the military forces necessary for its safety, and disposes of them ;'

"Considering the orderly decree of the Assembly thus conceived, — 'The president is charged with the safety of the Assembly internally and externally ;'

"Accordingly exercises in the name of the Assembly the right conferred on the legislative power by the 32d article of the constitution to fix the number of the military force necessary for its safety, and to dispose of them ;

"And orders M. ——— to take immediately the command of all the forces, as well of the army as of the National Guard, stationed in the first military division, to secure the safety of the National Assembly.

"Given at the Palace of the Assembly this ———."

## SECOND DECREE.

"The president of the National Assembly,

"Considering Article 32d of the constitution, &c. ;

"Considering the orderly decree, &c. ;

"Orders every general, every commander of a corps, or of a detachment of the army and of the National Guard, stationed in the first military division, to obey the orders of General ———, charged with the defence of the National Assembly.

"Given at the Palace of the Assembly this ———."

Thus every thing was prepared, the batteries were erected, the guns loaded, success seemed certain. Clearly, if Louis Napoleon was determined to do any thing, the moment of decisive action had now arrived.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

*The Coup d'Etat. — The Soirée. — Last Orders. — The Decree and Proclamations. — Principal Points of Paris possessed by the Troops. — Arrest of all Persons likely to prove dangerous. — Tranquillity of the City. — Details.*

MONDAY evenings had been reserved for receptions by the president of the republic; and on Monday evening, December 1, 1851, a brilliant crowd was assembled in the saloons of the Elysée. Louis Napoleon was particularly courteous and affable, moving through his guests with a smile or a pleasant remark for all. About ten o'clock, leaning carelessly against the mantel-piece, and apparently watching the dancers with pleased interest, he saw Colonel Vieyra pass by, and called him. The colonel had lately been appointed brigade major of the National Guards of Paris, now under the command of General Lawastine.

"Colonel," said the prince, with a smiling air, "are you sufficiently master of yourself to conceal a sudden emotion?"

"Certainly," replied the colonel.

"Well, then," said Louis Napoleon, in a low voice, bending towards him, "*this is the night!* Good! you have not stirred. Now, can you assure me that tomorrow there shall be no *rappel* beaten, whatever may happen, and that no convocation of the National Guards shall be held in the mayoralties?"

"I will answer for it, if I receive the necessary orders."

"For these see the minister of war. See him from me. Don't go yet. We are observed."



The guests retired before midnight, and Louis Napoleon, with his secretary, M. Mocquard, withdrew to his cabinet. He was not long there when three persons, M. de Persigny, General St. Arnaud, minister of war, and M. de Morny, were admitted. M. de Morny, though a member of deliberative assemblies for the last ten years, had never sought after public distinction. His speeches were always, however, cool and sensible, and were characterized by a certain ability which showed that if he chose to exert himself he might aspire to fame. His gallant conduct whilst a soldier in Africa left his courage unquestioned. Possessed of a fine fortune, and endowed with elegant manners, he seemed to find the life of a leader of fashionable society more congenial than that of a statesman. However, he was the intimate friend of Louis Napoleon, and, possessing all his confidence, now came forward to stand by him in his utmost need. This evening he had passed part of his time at the theatre of the Comic Opera. A lady with whom he was sitting in the boxes complained that the Assembly and the labors of parliament had monopolized all the men who had been the most distinguished ornaments of society.

"But you shall soon come back to us," she added, with a laugh. "You're all going to be swept out."

"Madam," replied De Morny, gayly, "I don't know when the broom shall come to sweep us out, but I know *I* will try to be on the side of the handle."

The last conference of the president with his friends was short and solemn. He told them that, as some of the ministers whom he had sounded on the subject appeared to shrink from the responsibility of the contemplated measure, he had somewhat modified the cabinet,

and that M. de Morny was now minister of the interior, in place of M. de Thorigny. "Then," according to the "*Histoire du deux Decembre*," "before separating from his accomplices, the prince opened with a little key, suspended from his watch-guard, the drawer of a bureau, and gave to each a sealed packet. Then, grasping their hands, and speaking in a voice as calm as on the most ordinary occasions, 'Now, gentlemen,' said he, 'take a little repose, and may God protect France!'"

The night passed in the greatest tranquillity. Nothing occurred to create a suspicion that the most complete revolution that ever took place was to be perfectly accomplished in the space of a few hours. When the Parisians awoke in the morning, they learned, as if by instinct, that something had happened. As the day dawned, the proclamations, posted on the walls all through the city, became visible, and the people, eager for the news, read the following papers with an astonishment not far removed from admiration. A daring act is always applauded. The general exclamation was, "It was well played;" with this proviso often added, "Will it succeed?"

First appeared the decree:—

"In the name of the French people,

"The president of the republic decrees:—

"ART. 1. The National Assembly is dissolved.

"ART. 2. Universal suffrage is reëstablished. The law of the 31st of May is annulled.

"ART. 3. The French people are convoked for their votes from the 14th to the 21st of December.

"ART. 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the first military division.

"ART. 5. The council of state is dissolved.

"ART. 6. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

"Given at the Palace of the Elysée, the 2d of December, 1851.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"DE MORNAY, *Minister of the Interior.*"

Next came this address to the army, which had all at once become the safeguard of society in these perilous circumstances : —

"SOLDIERS : Be proud of your mission ; you will save your country ; for I depend on you not to violate the laws, but to enforce the first law of the country, respect to the national sovereignty, of which I am the legal representative.

"For a long time have you suffered, as I have done, from the obstacles that were raised against the advantages which I wished to confer on you. These obstacles have been swept away. The Assembly threatened the authority which I hold from the whole nation. The Assembly has ceased to exist.

"I make an honorable appeal to the people and to the army ; and I say, ' Either give me the means of assuring your prosperity, or choose another in my place.'

"In 1830, as in 1848, you were treated as the vanquished party. After blighting your heroic disinterestedness, they disdained to consult your sympathies and your wishes. Yet you are the *élite* of the nation. To-day, at this solemn moment, I am resolved that the army shall be heard.

"Vote, then, freely as citizens ; but as soldiers do

not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief of the government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general to the private soldier. It is for me, responsible as I am for my actions to the people and to posterity, to take the measures which seem to me indispensable for the public good.

"As for you, remain immovable in the rules of discipline and order. Aid, by your imposing attitude, the country to manifest its will in tranquillity and with reflection. Be ready to repress every attempt against the free exercise of the sovereignty of the people.

"Soldiers! I do not speak to you of the remembrances which my name recalls. They are engraved in your hearts. We are united by indissoluble ties. Your history is mine. There is between us in the past a community of glory and misfortune. There shall be between us in the future a community of sentiments and resolutions for the repose and grandeur of France.

"Given at the Palace of the Elysée, the 2d of December, 1851.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

In this address, it will be seen, the president particularly called upon the army to cause the free expression of the universal will to be respected.

In his address to the people he called upon them, if they were dissatisfied with his conduct, to choose some other ruler in his place ; but if they had confidence in *him*, to give him the authority necessary for the establishment of an effective government.

"FRENCHMEN: The present state of things can last no longer. Every day, as it passes, aggravates the

dangers of the country. The Assembly, which ought to be the firmest support of order, has become the centre of conspiracies. The patriotism of three hundred of its members has not been able to arrest its fatal tendencies. Instead of making laws for the general interest, it forged arms for civil war; it attacked the power which I hold directly from the people; it encouraged all bad passions; it compromised the repose of France. I have dissolved it, and I make the people judge between it and myself.

“The constitution was made, as you know, with the intention of weakening beforehand the powers which you were about to confide to me. Six millions of votes were a striking protest against it; and yet I faithfully respected it. Provocations, calumnies, and outrages found me impassable. But now that the fundamental compact is no longer respected by those even who incessantly invoke it, and that the same men who have already ruined two monarchies wish to tie my hands in order to overthrow the republic, my duty is to baffle their perfidious projects, to maintain the republic, and to save the country, by invoking the solemn judgment of the only sovereign I acknowledge in France — the people.

“I make, then, a loyal appeal to the entire nation, and I say, If you wish to continue this state of disquietude which disgraces us and compromises our future, choose another in my place, for I will no longer retain an authority which is powerless to do good, which renders me responsible for acts that I cannot prevent, and which chains me to the helm when I see the vessel plunging into the abyss.

“If, on the contrary, you still have confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the great mission which I hold from you.

"This mission consists in closing the era of revolutions by satisfying the legitimate wants of the people, and by protecting them against subversive passions. It consists, especially, in creating institutions which can survive men, and which are the foundations on which something durable can be placed.

"Persuaded that the instability of the government, and the preponderance of a single Assembly, are constant sources of trouble and dissension, I submit to your suffrages the following fundamental bases of a constitution, which the Assemblies will hereafter develop : —

"1. A responsible chief, named for ten years.

"2. Ministers dependent upon the executive power alone.

"3. A council of state, composed of the most distinguished men, preparing laws and maintaining their discussion before the legislative body.

"4. A legislative body, discussing and voting the laws, and chosen by universal suffrage, without scrutinizing the list, which violates the electoral principle.

"5. A second Assembly, composed of the most distinguished men of the country — a preponderating power, a guardian of the fundamental compact, and of the public liberties.

"This system, created by the first consul at the commencement of the century, has already given to France repose and prosperity ; it would still guarantee them.

"Such is my profound conviction. If you share in it, declare it by your votes. If, on the contrary, you prefer a government without strength, monarchical or republican, taken from what I know not chimerical past or future, reply in the negative.

"Thus, then, for the first time since 1804, you will

vote with a knowledge of what you are about, knowing whom and what you are voting for.

"If I do not obtain the majority of your suffrages, I shall call the meeting of a new Assembly, to which I shall return the charge which I have received from you.

"But if you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol — that is, France regenerated by the revolution of 1789, and organized by the emperor — if you believe that that cause is still yours, proclaim it by consecrating the powers which I ask of you.

"Then will France and Europe be preserved from anarchy ; obstacles will be removed ; rivalries will have disappeared ; for all will respect, in the decision of the people, the decree of Providence.

"Given at the Palace of the Elysée, the 2d of December, 1851.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

The people also read a decree regulating the manner of voting. Every Frenchman of twenty-one years of age, residing six months in the same commune, was an elector, and his name was to accompany his vote. He was simply to answer "yes" or "no" to the following proposition : —

"The French people wills the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and delegates to him the powers necessary to frame a constitution on the bases proposed in his proclamation of the 2d of December."

The lists containing the answers, negative or affirmative, were to remain open for eight days, from the 14th to the 21st of December, both included. The clause,

however, requiring the name to accompany the vote created such general dissatisfaction that Louis Napoleon, with much prudence, very promptly altered it next day for the old system of secret ballot.

Besides these documents, the people also read another, signed by De Maupas, prefect of police, calling on all good citizens to assist in preserving the public tranquillity, so that the free exercise of the popular sovereignty should be solemnly manifested, and plainly declaring that any attempt at disorder would be promptly and inflexibly repressed. But there seemed to be no desire to create disorder. The people, collected in great numbers on the corners or other points of interest, looked on quietly at the troops parading through the streets, talked over the new aspect of affairs, and all at once remembered that the 2d of December was the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation in 1804, and of the most glorious of his victories, that of Austerlitz, in 1805. They did not offer the least opposition, and, indeed, soon learned that insurrection was almost impossible. There had been seventy-eight arrests effected simultaneously at six o'clock in the morning. Of these, eighteen were influential members of the Assembly. Generals possessing great influence in the army, and orators, considered to be implicated, more or less, in the conspiracy; the sixty others were heads of secret societies, or barricade commanders, always prepared to get up an insurrection at the shortest notice. It was an undisputed fact. A revolution had been accomplished. Louis Napoleon's measures, with all their difficulty and complication, had been so well conceived, prepared, and executed; every thing, apparently the most trifling, had been so well foreseen and provided for, and all with a secrecy which



left even the most trusty agents in the dark, that the most complete success had been obtained on all points. He was now, at least for a while, perfect master of France. There was no one who possessed the power or the popularity to oppose him. As was well said at the time, and the *mot* passed rapidly from mouth to mouth, "1852 was dead." By degrees the people learned most of the particulars of the late transaction.

The printing and publishing of the decrees and proclamations had been intrusted to M. de Beville, a lieutenant colonel on the staff, and an orderly sergeant of the president. He had gone the previous day to inform M. de Saint Georges, director of the national printing office, that, some important work having to be done that night, the men were to be in readiness. De Saint Georges had all his men at their post at the appointed time, and at twelve o'clock M. de Beville made his appearance. The carriage in which he had come was drawn under a shed, and the driver conducted into a room where he was immediately locked up, wiled away the hours as well as he could with the help of wine and tobacco, which had been placed there for the purpose. At the same moment a company of armed police, who had been on duty to protect the printing office against some pretended dangers, entered the yard. A letter from the minister of war commanded the captain to obey M. de Saint Georges passively. Sentinels were immediately placed at the doors and windows, with the strictest orders to prevent all communication with the outside. It was only when these precautions had been taken that De Beville produced the papers which had been intrusted to him. De Saint Georges distributed the copy among the compositors, and in an hour the press was at work. When the

printing was finished, the papers were concealed in the seats of the carriage, the driver was freed from his confinement, and De Beville and De Saint Georges drove to the head police office, where M. de Maupas was waiting for them. The proclamations were then handed to a small number of determined men, with orders to placard them all over the city and suburbs, at certain points already designated. The men did not want to be accompanied by police, and completely succeeded in their task. Though often surrounded by spectators, they were never obstructed at their work, and it was remarkable that in many places the papers were not torn down for a long time after they were posted on the walls. M. de Saint Georges returned to the government printing office, where the printers were carefully watched until daylight.

Besides the publication of the official acts, the other principal measures, executed simultaneously, were three — the arrest of guilty or dangerous persons ; the investment and occupation of the Palace of the Assembly ; and the distribution of troops on the points which were judged necessary.

General Magnan, whom we found so steadfast in his adherence to the government of Louis Philippe in the Boulogne affair, had lately been appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Paris, and was devotedly attached to Louis Napoleon. At three o'clock in the morning he had received the necessary orders and instructions from the minister of war, and, immediately transmitting them to his subordinates, he had them all executed with the utmost accuracy and rapidity. In the barracks, the soldiers, called up one by one by their officers, dressed, took their arms, and fell into ranks in perfect silence,

no trumpet or drum giving a signal that might disturb the neighborhood. By daybreak the regiments of three divisions of the army of Paris occupied the Quay d'Orsay, the Carrousel, the garden of the Tuileries, the Place de la Concorde, and the Champs Elysées.

At six o'clock, M. de Persigny, attended by the forty-second of the line, and several detachments of the Republican Guards, arrived at the Assembly, and, having caused the gate to be opened, sent for the officer commanding the little guard already stationed there, whilst his troops took possession of the courts around the palace. The commanding officer found himself regularly relieved by his superior officer, and the battalion on guard was taken back to the barracks. When the forty-second regiment entered the legislative apartments, three policemen, each accompanied by ten agents, entered at the same time to arrest the questors. By half past six the Assembly had been surrounded, and occupied without the slightest difficulty, and M. de Persigny hastened back with the account to the Elysée Palace. At the same moment, M. de Morny, accompanied by two hundred and fifty of the Chasseurs de Vincennes, took possession of the ministry of the interior, and presented M. de Thorigny a letter from the president, thanking him for his faithful services, but announcing to him the appointment of his successor. M. de Morny entered on his functions immediately, dictated a circular for the prefects of the departments, which he despatched by telegraph as soon as possible, together with the decrees and proclamations of the president of the republic.

At half past three o'clock in the morning, M. de Maupas, the minister of police, had ordered, by express messengers, the immediate attendance of the officers of

peace, and of forty police commissaries, at his office. Accordingly as they came they were placed in groups of two or three in separate rooms, to prevent questions. The ringing of a little bell called them, one by one, into the minister's private room, where they received from his own lips a full and true account of the real state of affairs, together with the orders which they were to execute, and papers full of instructions on every emergency. The minister knew his men, and had perfect confidence in each one that was charged with an affair of trust. They readily undertook the task, and not one failed in his promise. Particular injunctions were given against the possibility of calling at the wrong house, or arresting the wrong man. Of this there did not seem much danger, for most of those to be arrested had been continually watched for the last fortnight, and never lost sight of by invisible agents, though not one of these agents had had an idea of the real objects of his mission, all having been put upon different and imaginary services. The previous night, eight hundred *sergens de ville* and all the brigades of safety had been assembled at the office, under the pretext that the refugees of London were in Paris. Small parties of these were to assist each commissary of police as he made his arrest. The arrests were, moreover, to be protected by detachments of troops stationed at all the points of the city where they were to take place. It had been planned by the prefect of police and the minister of war, that the arrests were to be begun exactly ten minutes before the arrival of the troops at their different destinations. The agents of police were ordered to be at the doors of the persons named at five minutes after six, and the detachments of troops at a quarter after six. The arrests

were to be effected all at the same time. Every thing was done with the most astonishing punctuality. Every arrest was successfully made, and none occupied more than twenty minutes.

The incidents attending the arrests of some of the principal personages, as recorded in the official report, have been always read with interest, and are generally regarded as highly characteristic. The arrest of General Changarnier, the most important of all, had been intrusted to two men of extraordinary energy, Leras, commissary of police, and Baudinet, captain of the Republican Guard. They were assisted by fifteen chosen agents, thirteen Republican Guards, and by a picket of ten men on horseback.

At five minutes past six, Leras rang at the door of the general's house. The porter refused to open the gate, and being evidently on his guard, an agent was ordered in a low voice to talk to him so as to occupy him at the gate and prevent his going up to the general. By the side of the gate, and belonging to the house, was a grocer's shop; some customers were already at the counter; it struck Leras that the grocer's lodgings must communicate with the yard. He went into the store and demanded the key of the passage in an authoritative tone; he obtained it, and entered the house with his followers. The porter had already given the alarm by a loud ringing of the bells. Leras rushed up the stairs, and hastily entered the general's apartment. At the same moment, an inner door was opened, and the general appeared at his bedroom door, in his shirt, with bare feet, and a pistol in each hand.

The commissary caught his arms, and said, "What are you about, general? Your life is not in danger.

Why defend it? I came to arrest you. We are thirty to one. Resistance is useless."

The general became calm, gave up his pistols, and said, "I will follow you — I am going to dress myself." He was then dressed by his servant, and observed to Leras, "I know M. de Maupas to be a gentleman; will you tell him that I depend on his courtesy not to deprive me of my servant, whom I cannot do without?" The request was instantly granted. A carriage was at the door; the general took his seat in it, two agents sitting before him, and Leras by his side. He still maintained a proud, defiant air, and occasionally looked out of the windows, as if expecting to see some disturbances.

"Do you know," said he to the commissary, "what a narrow escape you have had? In one second more you were a dead man! I should have regretted it, however, for I see you had no arms, and only did your duty."

"If you had killed me, general," said Leras, "you would have only made a widow and four orphans to no purpose."

"But what is this *coup d'état* for?" abruptly asked the general. "The president's reflection was certain. He is giving himself much needless trouble." The commissary could not answer these questions.

When informed that he was only going to prison, he became more calm. He had at first believed they were taking him to Vincennes to be shot! During the journey he remarked, "When the president is engaged in a foreign war, he will be glad to send for me, to intrust me with the command of an army." The carriage stopped before the gate of a prison called Mazas, situated in the south-east of Paris, very strong, and built on the princi-

ple of the Philadelphia Penitentiary, but new, clean, airy, warm, in short, rather *comfortable* as prisons go. Here the general was safely secured, but still invariably treated with every respect.

The arrest of General Cavaignac was effected with no less ease and promptitude. The general was asleep when the commissary knocked at the door of his humble residence, in the Rue du Helder. Admission was refused, and the commissary threatened to burst it open, when the general opened it himself. "The commissary said, "General, you are my prisoner; all resistance is useless; I am ordered to seize your person in virtue of a warrant which I will read to you."

The general was very much exasperated. He struck the table with his fist, and used some very violent expressions. The commissary tried to calm him, but the general said, "What do you mean by arresting me? Give me your names." "Certainly, general," replied the commissary; "we will not conceal them from you; but this is not the time. It is necessary to dress and follow us."

The general quickly recovered his dignity. "It is well, sir," said he. "Send out your people; let me dress, and I will be ready in a moment." The commissary complied, and the general again said, "Sir, grant me two favors; one is permission to write a letter to a lady that I was to marry after to-morrow; the other is that I may go with you alone to my place of destination." The commissary readily acquiesced. The letter to Mademoiselle Odier, the lady in question, released her from the engagement; but the general soon received a reply, stating that she considered the arrest only an additional reason on her part for remaining faithful to it.

In the carriage the general asked, "Where are you taking me?" "To Mazas," was replied. "Am I the only one arrested?" "General, I am not at liberty to answer that question." For the rest of the journey the noble prisoner maintained a gloomy silence.

General Lamoricière was also fast asleep when the commissary rang the bell. The domestic opened the door, but seeing the multitude, ran away, shouting, "Thieves!" He was soon caught, however, and compelled to conduct the commissary to his master's room. The general got up without a word, and began to dress himself. Looking towards the chimney-piece, he asked the servant what had become of the money he had placed there.

"It is put away safely," said the servant.

"Sir," said the commissary, "that observation is very insulting to me. Do you take us for thieves?"

"And how do I know that you are not?" asked the general. The commissary showed him the badge and read the warrant for his arrest. The general was then silent.

As they were going to the carriage the commissary said, "General, I have orders from the prefect of police to treat you with all possible consideration, and I wish to act with the greatest leniency; I will put you into a carriage alone with myself, if you will give me your word of honor that you will not attempt to escape." "I promise nothing, I answer for nothing," hastily replied the general; "do with me as you please."

In passing by the Palace of the Legion of Honor, he put his head out of the window, and attempted to harangue the soldiers. But the commissary drew him back, let down the blinds, and told him he should be



obliged to use harsh measures if he attempted the like again. The general said, "Do as you please;" but when he arrived at Mazas he appeared much more calm.

He begged the commissary not to seize his arms, which were of value, and to send him some cigars, and Thiers' "*History of the French Revolution*." The commissary complied with his wishes.

General Leflô, who was lodging in the Assembly, was in bed when the commissary woke him and showed him his warrant. He got up immediately, but while dressing uttered threats against the commissary, and invectives against the president of the republic. "Napoleon wishes to make a *coup d'état*. We will shoot him at Vincennes, and shoot you along with him." When he was getting into the carriage, he addressed the colonel of the forty-second, and wished to harangue the soldiers. The colonel ordered him to be silent, and the soldiers crossed their bayonets on him. From the Assembly to the prison General Leflô did not speak a word.

General Bedeau took matters even less coolly. When the servant had half opened the door, the commissary pushed it open, and the frightened servant running away, he followed him until he came to the general's bedside, when he immediately announced his orders. The general was thunderstruck, and protested loudly against such a violation of the constitution.

"You are acting in opposition to the laws," said he to the commissary. "You must not forget that I am a representative of the people, and the vice president of the Assembly; you cannot arrest me, since you cannot assert that you have taken me *in flagrante delicto*."

The commissary said he only did his duty.

"What is your name?" asked the general.

"Hubaut," said the commissary.

"M. Hubaut," said the general, "I have seen honorable mention made of your name in the papers, and I am astonished that you could be the man to undertake arresting me. I am vice president of the Assembly; I have already shed my blood for the cause of order; and I can risk my life again."

"I cannot comment on my warrant," said the commissary: "I can only execute it. You have risked your life, general, in defence of the laws; do you think I am not willing to risk mine in the execution of my orders? You had better get up with good will; and do not compel me to use harsh measures."

The general arose, but dressed himself with the greatest slowness. At last, when he was dressed, he refused to stir. "You must use force," said he to the commissary. "I will not go unless I am carried off. Now I dare you to seize the vice president of the National Assembly by the collar, and drag him off."

"Do you acknowledge, sir," said the commissary, "that I have acted towards you with all possible civility?" The general did not deny it, and the commissary, seizing him by the collar, began to tug him along. He made vigorous resistance, however, and it was not without much difficulty that he was got into the carriage, where he still continued to shout "Treason! to arms! I am the vice president of the National Assembly, and they have arrested me!" His cries attracted the notice of passers by, and the *sergens de ville* had to draw their swords while following the carriage, which, however, arrived without accident at Mazas.

Colonel Charras at first refused positively to open his door, but seeing it begin to yield, said, "Stop, I will

admit you," and directly opened it. The commissary told him his business, and the colonel replied, "I knew it; I fully expected it; I might easily have made my escape, but I would not desert my post. I thought it would happen two days ago, and under that conviction I had loaded my pistol; but I have discharged it;" and he pointed to a double-barrelled pistol on the chest of drawers. "Had you come that day," he added, "I would have blown your brains out." He got into the carriage quietly, however, and was conveyed to Mazas, like the others.

The arrest of the civilians did not present the same dangers as that of the military commanders; still every precaution had been taken. M. La Grange, whom we saw playing such an important part on the famous night of the February revolution, submitted very peaceably, after all. He protested, however, against the violation of the constitution; said he had but to fire a pistol shot out of the window to call the people to arms; that if he chose to defend himself he could murder all the policemen; and that they should use force to carry him from his house.

On his way to Mazas he said several times, "It is a bold game, but it is well played." In the prison he said to General Lamoricière, "Well, general, we wished to put the fellow in, but he has put us in instead."

M. Grippo, the fiery socialist, had a complete arsenal stowed away under his bed—a large pile of newly-repaired arms, two daggers, a loaded pistol, and a magnificent red cap, perfectly new. The sight of the commissary, however, completely prostrated M. Grippo. When questioned as to the things found under his bed, he said he had purchased them, as he had a *taste for*

*the navy.* Madame Grippo, a most energetic woman, asked her husband in the strongest terms, "Is it possible you have so little courage as to allow yourself to be arrested without making resistance?" But her eloquence had no effect; M. Grippo surrendered without a blow.

M. Roger (du Nord) behaved like a nobleman of the last century on receiving an order to go to the Bastile. He welcomed the commissaries with the utmost politeness, begged them to excuse him while his servant was shaving him and fixing his hair, and, as they were waiting, hoped they would take some cake and wine.

"So we have a *coup d'état* then," said he, pleasantly. "I knew all about it two days ago. People can have friends every where. *Ma foi*, I like it better than the stupid part we were playing at the Assembly. Louis Napoleon will succeed. That's incontestable."

M. Baze, the indomitable questor, did not submit with such good grace. The officers found him standing at his bedroom door, in his drawers and a splendid morning gown. He put on an oratorical air.

"Commissaries," said he, "in the name of the national representation, outraged in my person, I pronounce you to be without the pale of the law!" He had no arms, which was fortunate; for if he had there can be little doubt, from the way he kicked, bit, and scratched the policemen as they were carrying him to the carriage, that he would have done some serious injury before he was finally locked up in Mazas.

M. Thiers was sound asleep when M. Hubaut, Senior, entered his bedroom. The commissary quietly drew back the crimson damask curtains, and explained the object of his visit. M. Thiers sprang bolt upright, put his hands to his eyes, and, lifting up his white cotton nightcap, asked, —

"What is all this?"

"I am come to search your house; but do not be alarmed; no harm will be done you, monsieur; there is no fear for your life." The last assurance was needed, for M. Thiers seemed rather alarmed.

"What do you intend to do? Do you know that I am a representative?"

"Yes: I am not come to dispute that point with you; I am here to execute the orders I have received."

"What you are doing may send you to the scaffold."

"No consideration shall stop me in the discharge of my duty."

"But is not this a *coup d'état*?"

"I cannot answer any questions; pray rise."

"Am I the only one in this situation, or are others of my colleagues implicated?"

"I really do not know, sir."

M. Thiers got up and began to dress. Suddenly he turned to the commissary: "Suppose I was to blow out your brains."

"I do not believe, sir, that you could be capable of such a crime; but I am prepared, and could easily prevent it."

"Do you know the laws? Do you know that you are acting in direct opposition to the constitution?"

"I have no orders to dispute with you; and, besides, your knowledge is far superior to mine. I can only execute the orders given to me, as I executed yours when you were minister of the interior."

A search having been made in M. Thiers' cabinet without bringing forward any political correspondence, the commissary expressed surprise; M. Thiers replied that for some time past, he had always addressed his

political correspondence to England, and that none would be found in his house. He exhibited much hesitation and alarm when asked to go down stairs to the carriage. His fears were not diminished when he saw the road the carriage took. Still he talked all the way; at first he used the most persuasive or the most threatening arguments to induce his captors to let him off; then, finding such efforts useless, he delivered himself up to a very eloquent and sparkling effusion upon the gravity of his present situation. Arriving at the prison he asked if he might have his *café au lait* very hot, and some books. He was overwhelmed with attentions, but his courage quite forsook him. When some of his companions were removed to Ham, he was excused from accompanying them, and, finally, as confinement aggravated a disease he had in the throat, he was soon sent off to Germany.

Not one of all that were arrested could complain of the least want of proper respect on the part of the officers, and the latter had no reply but passive silence or kind observations to make to the insults and menaces which they often received. Not one of the demagogues against whom warrants had been issued succeeded in escaping, or giving word to the secret societies, or calling the suburbs to arms.

These were the events of the morning of December 2, 1851.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

*The Coup d'Etat continued.— Action of the Representatives. — The High Court. — Session in the 10th Arrondissement. — Little Fighting until Thursday, when General Magnan completely conquers the Insurgents. — Dreadful News from the Provinces. — Proclamation. — General Election. — Louis Napoleon invested with Supreme Authority by more than Seven Millions of Votes. — Conclusion.*

BUT what were the representatives who had not been arrested doing in the mean time? Notwithstanding the occupation of the Assembly, about sixty had succeeded, early in the morning, in slipping into the building, one by one, through a little door, which, from some order badly given, or misunderstood, had not been sufficiently guarded. They met in one of the committee rooms, and sent for the president, M. Dupin; he arrived just at the moment when an officer, by an order of the minister of war, was trying to clear the room. M. Dupin, seeing the nature of the case, said, —

“Gentlemen, I protest, as well as you, in the name of the constitution. But I also protest we can do nothing against force. If these gentlemen,” pointing to the soldiers, “think proper to turn us out, I don’t see how we can manage to remain. I advise you to go away, and have the honor to wish you good morning.”

The members, seeing resistance useless, retired to the residence of M. Daru, one of their vice presidents; there, before they were again interrupted, they succeeded in transmitting an order, calling on the High Court to assemble, and then broke up with the understanding that they were to meet about noon in the mayoralty of the

tenth arrondissement, where they were to be protected by the tenth legion of the National Guards. Other fractions of the Assembly met at different points; several members of the Left at M. Cremieux's, whence they were soon driven by the authorities, and the Mountain at some place in the Faubourg St. Antoine, where the police could not discover them.

The High Court, in obedience to the summons from the representatives, immediately met in one of the halls of the palace, and after a two hours' sitting, drew out a decree declaring Louis Napoleon Bonaparte attainted of high treason, and convoking the national jury to proceed to judgment. This document, indeed, was not signed, as the judges desired new instructions from the Assembly; and before they could be obtained a body of troops entered the hall, seized the papers, and dispersed the members. A copy of this decree, however, with the judges' names affixed, was soon written out and distributed over Paris, and through the departments. Being regarded as authentic by several, particularly by the upper classes of the Parisians, this spurious document was the cause of some of the troubles of Thursday.

Every possible precaution against disorder seemed to have been taken. The railroad depots, the telegraph offices, and all the great public establishments were occupied by troops; all the printing offices were carefully guarded, and the publication of twelve journals, considered dangerous, had been suspended.

Still, towards twelve o'clock, about two hundred representatives, individually summoned, met at the mayoralty of the tenth arrondissement. It had been expected that the tenth legion of the National Guards would defend the session; but General Lawostine had threatened



the most rigorous proceedings against any one that would beat the *rappel* without orders, and the few National Guards that had taken arms, had only done so in obedience to a verbal message. Then commenced the famous "last sitting of the Assembly, on Tuesday, December 2d, 1851," almost interesting enough to be given with all its details. Though not amounting to a third of the National Assembly, the representatives proceeded immediately to vote the deposition of the president of the republic, and they had appointed General Oudinot commander of the parliamentary forces, and M. Lauriston commander of the National Guards, before they were interrupted by the arrival of the troops. Positively refusing to disperse, they were all arrested and lodged in the barracks of the Quay d'Orsay, where some of their colleagues, who had not been present at the session, coming to join them, by evening their number amounted to two hundred and twenty.

The favor with which the *coup d'état* had been regarded in the morning began to modify somewhat during the day; when the surprise was over and the people had time to exchange opinions, a spirit of opposition began to be manifested. This was principally among the middle classes; the head quarters of disaffection seeming to be the Italian Boulevards, in front of the Café Tortoni, and the Café de Paris. Here the decree of the High Court, the protest of some representatives, and the decrees passed at the mayoralty, found the loudest readers and most eloquent expounders. But as it was not blouses, but black coats, that counselled resistance, the few disturbances that took place during the day were of little account, though immense crowds thronged the Boulevards, and the stores were generally shut.

In playing such a fearful game, the president should not appear to entertain any thing like personal apprehensions. To show, then, that he had no fear of whatever danger might be supposed to exist, he left the Elysée at eleven o'clock, attended by his aids, his uncle Jerome, and several generals, and crossing the river, rode up and down the principal quays, generally received with acclamations of regard, especially by the army. At three he rode along the Boulevards, and at four he reviewed a division of cavalry in the Champs Elysées, where his reception was most enthusiastic. He dined at the residence of M. Turgot, minister for foreign affairs. In the evening the Elysée was thrown open for a general reception, to which the citizens hastened in great numbers, desiring thereby to signify their adhesion to the new order of things. Every one that saw him that day bears testimony to his wonderful *sang froid*. Not the least trace of excitement was visible on his marble countenance. Paris was perfectly tranquil. The theatres opened as usual. There was as brilliant an audience as ever at the Italian opera, and the other theatres found no diminution in their receipts. Not a drop of blood had been shed the first day of the revolution; little resistance had been attempted; the public was too indifferent, and repression was too certain.

It could not be expected, however, that all would be surrendered without a struggle. Opposition, though stunned and prostrated, was not disabled. On this Tuesday night bold counsels were given and bold plans decided upon. The people evidently would not rise, and little success could be expected at first. But the fighting could be done in the poorer quarters of Paris, where the streets were narrow, and every house a citadel;

opposition in many and various points would distract the troops ; protracted resistance would weary them : time would be gained ; and the present apathy would certainly be succeeded by a reaction. It was resolved then to erect an immense number of barricades in different places at the same time ; to yield them when attacked, but to occupy them as soon as the troops had retired. These measures were bold, considering the immense number of soldiers in the capital ; but the representatives who advised them undertook themselves to lead the insurgents. During the night, the following appeal, among others, was posted up on the Boulevards : —

*"Appeal to the People.*

"ART. 68. The constitution is intrusted to the protection and patriotism of the French citizens.

"Louis Napoleon is outlawed.

"The state of siege is abolished.

"Universal suffrage is reëstablished.

"Vive la republique ! To arms !

"For the united Mountain,

"The delegate, VICTOR HUGO."

All through the 3d, things looked threatening. The streets were thronged with crowds highly restless and excitable. Manufacturers had received orders to open their establishments, but the workmen were too curious to see what would come to pass, and would not work. The troops, having retired to their barracks the previous evening, had hardly occupied their former positions, when word was brought that the barricades were up. They were at once attacked, and generally carried with little difficulty, though at one of them, in the Faubourg

St. Antoine, the representative Baudin was killed. His blood was the first shed in the contest. In the afternoon the minister of war published a proclamation, advising the inhabitants to keep in their houses, and declaring that any one caught constructing or defending a barricade, or with arms in his hands, would be shot. Still barricades were erected in great numbers the whole day and evening; and, though speedily demolished, they sprang up again almost instantaneously, and nearly exhausted the troops by the sheer labor of destruction. In the night an attempt was made to imitate the ghastly procession of February 23, 1848. Two dead bodies were put into a wagon surrounded by torch bearers, who stopped every moment to wave their torches and cry, "Vengeance!" But the band was soon put to flight by a charge of the policemen, and the bodies were carried off to be buried. Such was the second day of the *coup d'état*. No serious engagement; the insurrection flying when attacked; agitation increased rather than allayed.

Every one knew, however, that the next day was to be decisive. The government, though entertaining no apprehensions of ultimate success, took every means to spare bloodshed. Suspecting an attempt might be made on Mazas, to deliver the captive generals, an order was given to send them off at midnight to the fortress of Ham; they arrived there next morning. The other representatives, and all arrested on a special warrant, were still kept closely locked up; their colleagues, those arrested at the mayoralty, were offered their liberty, but would not accept it. In this difficulty they were put into carriages and driven to different points of Paris. Being induced to get out on some pretext or other, they suddenly found themselves in the middle of the street,

abandoned by their escorts ; and thus they were obliged by necessity to return home.

On the morning of the 4th, in spite of the vigilance of the police, proclamations were seen on the walls, some announcing the rising of the provinces, and the march of the insurrectionary troops to Paris, others notifying that the usurper had seized twenty-five millions of francs belonging to the bank, to purchase the army, and other reports of a similar nature ; all totally untrue, but showing a very highly excited state of feeling. Notwithstanding the formal injunction of the minister of war, greater crowds than ever thronged the streets, and the windows were full of spectators. In that part of the Boulevards which is in the neighborhood of the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Martin, and all around in the adjacent streets, an immense number of barricades had been erected. The work was still actively going on. Young men, elegantly dressed, were seen giving orders, taking names, distributing money, occasionally bearing a hand, but at the least alarm disappearing and leaving their dupes to resist the soldiery. By nine o'clock the insurrection had evidently taken its ground, and was willing to accept a battle.

"Trust me with the direction to-day," said General Magnan to the minister of war. "At two o'clock you will hear my cannon roar, and I promise you to strike a decisive blow. This evening Paris shall be rid of her enemies."

St. Arnaud signified his assent.

The general then took his measures. Most of the divisions under his command were to attack the insurrection simultaneously from different points ; others

were to clear the streets ; and others were to prevent the disorder from spreading.

At noon all the barricades were finished. The agitation of the city had reached its highest point. The troops began to take up their positions. The insurgents, wondering at the delay, conceived the wildest hopes, and felt their courage redouble. The prefect of police urged on the attack, but General Magnan would not commence before the hour agreed upon. As two o'clock sounded, all the divisions pushed forward simultaneously. The division that advanced along the Boulevards was fired at, out of the windows and off the roofs of the houses, at three different points, as they were marching on, and several officers and privates were killed. The soldiers, indignant at what they considered an act of foul treachery, fired repeatedly at the houses whence the shots had issued, and unable in their fury to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, several unoffending people unfortunately lost their lives for no other crime than the imprudence of leaving their houses at all on such a day. The division then advanced, and the battle soon commenced. The resistance was violent, but in three hours all was over. By five o'clock the firing had ceased, and one division alone had destroyed more than a hundred barricades. Very few were erected after that hour, and these were quickly taken ; the troops bivouacked in the streets, where they were generally treated most hospitably by the inhabitants, and numerous patrols, scouring the city in all directions, took up every suspected individual that they found on the road.

On Friday the troops still paraded the town ; but every sign of resistance had disappeared. People began

paving the streets, repairing the houses, and generally effacing as much as possible every trace of late events. On Saturday Paris resumed her wonted aspect; the troops had vanished; the stores opened; business was resumed; confidence was restored; and the funds rose. It may be proper to notice the variations of the Bourse during the week. On Monday, 1st, the five per cents closed at  $91\frac{6}{100}$ , on Tuesday, 2d, at  $89\frac{7}{100}$ , on Wednesday, 3d, at  $91\frac{6}{100}$ , on Thursday, 4th, at  $91\frac{2}{100}$ , on Friday, 5th, at  $92\frac{5}{100}$ , and on Saturday at 96. Indeed the public from the beginning entertained no doubt whatever regarding the success of the government; and with much apparent good reason, for even at the very height of the battle more than half the troops were resting quietly in reserve in their barracks.

General Magnan has been called brutal for the part he took in quelling the insurrection, and Louis Napoleon's stern determination has been stigmatized as heartless. Such epithets seem hardly to be deserved. If an insurrection is to be put down at all, the sooner it is done the better. Energy that decides an affair at once is plainly more merciful than irresolution, that keeps people fighting for years. Louis Napoleon has never shown any symptom of want of feeling even for his most implacable enemies. On the contrary, he has given many proofs of a sensitive and compassionate disposition. It is true that the number of victims of the *coup d'état*, most of them innocent, too, was run up to two or three thousand; and it was confidently asserted that every prisoner arrested during the day was shot at night on the Champs de Mars. No one now believes these falsehoods. In fact, the number of slain, all together, did not exceed two hundred and eighteen, and that of the

wounded three hundred and eighty-four. Of these the army had twenty-eight killed and one hundred and eighty-four wounded. Nor was it even the genuine workmen that fought at the barricades. That class as a body had little to do with the insurrection. It was on the weak, the fanatic, or the wicked of all classes, that the doctrines of the secret societies, or the money of the royalists, could exert most influence. When the dead bodies were picked up, a majority was found to consist of recognized malefactors, and well-dressed gentlemen wearing kid gloves.

The army had not been cruel in its reprisals. Though the inexorable laws of a state of siege existed in all their force, nearly all the insurgents, taken with arms in their hands, or with their faces black with powder, were treated as regular prisoners, with moderation and humanity. There were but a few individuals shot after the battle, and these only in punishment for assassinations committed or attempted. An execution less sanguinary was that of ten or twelve urchins taken behind a barricade. General Herbillon ordered them a sound whipping, which was administered on the spot, to the great amusement of the soldiers, though the destructive fire of the truculent little creatures should have slightly disposed them to clemency.

The news from the provinces was dreadful. It fully reconciled the Parisians to the energetic government of Louis Napoleon. The terrible details are unnecessary. It is enough to say that at the news of the state of affairs in Paris, an insurrection broke out in twenty-five departments at the same moment, and got the upper hand in several for some days. Then could be witnessed some of the most atrocious scenes of the old revolution.



There were priests insulted, or murdered, or placed at the barricades in the front rank of the insurgents that they might receive the first balls. There were *gens d'armes* shut up in a burning barrack, surrounded by a barbarous multitude that echoed their shrieks for mercy with howls of savage exultation. Every where were castles invaded, and houses plundered, with loud cries of "Down with the whites!" "Down with the Aristocrats!" "Down with the rich!" And the *rich* were, whoever had any thing. At Manosque, in the department of Lower Alps, the socialists, victorious at first, demanded as a condition from the *maire* of the commune the heads of three hundred of the most respectable inhabitants in the country, and the plunder of the town for three hours. In many places churches were burned, public treasure seized, and women outraged. Thus, from violation, pillage, burning, and murder, the first acts of the insurrection, we can hardly picture to our conceptions the hideous results had it triumphed.

But though these disorders were violent and of longer duration than those of Paris, for want of sufficient forces to act on the different points, they were not less effectually put down. On Monday, 8th, the following proclamation was addressed to the French people:—

"FRENCHMEN: The disturbances are quelled. Whatever may be the decision of the people, society is re-established. The first part of my task is fulfilled; I knew that by appealing to the nation to put an end to party dissensions, I should not endanger the public security.

"Why would the people revolt against me?

"If I no longer possess your confidence, if your ideas

are changed, it is unnecessary to have recourse to insurrection: it is enough to deposit a negative vote in the ballot box. I shall always respect the decree of the people.

"But, until the voice of the nation has been heard, I shall not shrink from any effort, from any sacrifice, to foil the attempts of the disaffected. Besides, this has now become an easy task.

"On the one hand, there has been shown the folly of contending against an army, united by the ties of discipline, and inspired by the sentiments of military glory and devotion to the country.

"On the other hand, the calm attitude of the inhabitants of Paris, and the disapproval with which they blighted the insurrection, fully proved on which side the capital declared itself.

"In those populous wards where sedition formerly broke forth so readily amongst workmen, ever ready to obey its impulses, anarchy, this time, has only encountered a profound and steady repugnance for its illusions.

"Thanks to the intelligent and patriotic inhabitants of Paris. Let them rest assured that my only ambition is to insure peace and prosperity to France.

"Let them continue to lend their aid to the government, and the country shall soon quietly accomplish the solemn act which should usher in a new era to the republic.

"Given at the Palace of the Elysée, the 8th of December, 1851.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

Scarcely was order reëstablished in Paris, when Louis Napoleon, now at liberty to govern after his own inspi-

rations, by the promulgation of new decrees, all tending towards the furtherance of public morality, or security, or the comfort of the poor, and the general prosperity, convinced France that he understood her well, had her happiness at heart, and that if he received her suffrages he would deserve them. On the 7th of Décembre, he restored to religion its primitive destination, the old and beautiful Church of St. Genevieve, till then the Pantheon, and dedicated to the "great men of the country." A few days after, the minister of the interior invited the governor of each department to exert himself as much as possible to procure a cessation of labor on Sundays ; for, in many parts of France, some of the infidel teachings of the old revolution have taken such root that the sacred character of Sunday is hardly ever recognized. Other decrees announced the projection of great works of necessity, utility, or improvement, whereby the people might be employed, and, as was said, moralized by useful labor.

At the same time the most vigorous measures were taken against the secret societies. The prefects were invested with extraordinary powers to deprive of their authority every government functionary suspected of a taint of socialist doctrines ; military commissions and mixed commissions were appointed to pursue and punish every accomplice of the late insurrection. Many have considered that these investigations were pushed too far, and it is certain that cases of imprisonment and transportation became very numerous.

In these excitements election day soon came on. The *Plebiscite* offered to the French people for their acceptance or rejection, as already said, was conceived in the following terms : —

"The French people wills the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and delegates to him the powers necessary to frame a constitution on the basis proposed in his proclamation of the 2d of December."

The balloting commenced on the 20th of December throughout all France. The general enthusiasm cannot be described. The departments most ravaged by socialism were generally the most ardent in voting for Louis Napoleon. It was useless for the royalists to advise abstinence from the polls. The *coup d'état* was triumphantly ratified. A few incidents may indicate the general spirit. In many communes there was not a single "No" given. In Vouges, where there were seventy-six electors, and seventy-six gave their votes, a workman, in a dying state, had himself carried in a litter to the polls, saying that he would not die happy if he had not voted for Louis Napoleon. Near Limoges, an old soldier of the empire, aged eighty-two, was advancing to the presiding officer to present his "Yes," when he tottered, fell, and expired. The chiefs of the royalist party had often attributed to their support the wonderful triumph of December 10, 1848; but the election of December 20, 1851, no longer permitted them to repeat such an assertion.

Out of the representatives that supported the Bonapartist cause, a Consulting Committee had been formed by the president, which, on the 14th, received orders to attend to the details of the election. On December 31, at eight o'clock in the evening, the members of this committee proceeded in a body to the Elysée, where the chairman, M. Baroche, handed to Louis Napoleon an extract from a report, which declared the following

to be the result of the election held in the eighty-six departments of France, in Algiers, in the army, and in the navy :—

"Total number of votes, . . . . .	8,116,773
"In the affirmative, . . . . .	7,439,216
"In the negative, . . . . .	640,737
"Votes annulled as irregular, . . . .	36,820 "

M. Baroche then addressed the president :—

"When appealing to the French people in your proclamation of the 2d of December, you used these words: 'I will no longer retain an authority which is powerless to do good, which renders me responsible for acts that I cannot prevent, and which chains me to the helm when I see the vessel plunging into the abyss. If you have confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the great mission which I hold from you.' To this loyal appeal made to her conscience and to her sovereignty, the nation has replied by an immense acclamation, by nearly seven million four hundred and fifty thousand suffrages.

"Yes, prince, France has confidence in you! She has confidence in your courage, in your deep reason, in your love for her! And the testimony that she has just given you is so much the more glorious, as it is rendered after three years of a government whose wisdom and patriotism it thus consecrates.

"Has the elect of the 10th of December, 1848, shown himself worthy of the trust which the people imposed upon him? Has he well comprehended the mission he then received? Ask these questions of the seven millions that have just confirmed the trust by adding to it a greater and more glorious mission.

"In any country, at any time, has the national will

been ever so solemnly manifested? Has any government ever received such an approval? or a wider basis? or an origin more legitimate, or more worthy of the respect of nations?

“Take possession, prince, of this power which is so gloriously presented to you.

“Employ it in developing by wise institutions the fundamental basis which France herself has consecrated by her votes. Reestablish in our country the principle of authority, too much shaken for the last sixty years by our continual agitations. Combat incessantly these anarchical passions which attack the very foundations of society. It is no longer mere odious theories that you have to pursue and repress; they have manifested themselves in deeds, in horrible overt acts.

“Let France be finally delivered from these men who are always ready for murder and pillage, from these men who, in the nineteenth century, horrify civilization, and, by exciting the most gloomy recollections, seem to throw us back five hundred years.

“Prince, on the 2d of December, you took for your motto, France, regenerated by the revolution of 1789, and organized by the emperor; that is to say, a wise and well-regulated liberty, an authority strong and respected by all. May your wisdom and your patriotism realize this noble thought. Restore to this noble country, so full of life and of the future, the greatest of all felicities — order, stability, and confidence. Repress with energy the spirit of anarchy and revolt.

“Thus you shall have saved France, preserved entire Europe from incalculable dangers, and added to the lustre of your name a new and imperishable glory.”

To this discourse the president made the following reply: —

"GENTLEMEN : France has responded to my loyal appeal. She has understood that I departed from the *legal* only in order to return to the *right*. More than seven millions of votes have absolved me by justifying an act which had nothing for its object but to spare France, and perhaps Europe, years of convulsions and suffering. I thank you for having authenticated officially the nationality and the spontaneity of this manifestation.

"If I congratulate myself on this transcendent adhesion, it is not through pride, but it is because it gives me the power to speak and act in a manner becoming the chief of a great nation, such as ours. I feel all the grandeur of my new mission, and I do not disguise from myself all its grave difficulties. But with an upright heart, with the coöperation of all good men, who, like you, shall enlighten me with their talents and support me with their patriotism, with the tried devotedness of our valiant army, finally, with this protection which tomorrow I shall solemnly beseech Heaven to grant me once more, I hope to render myself worthy of the confidence which the people still continue to repose in me. I hope to secure the destinies of France by founding institutions which will correspond at once to the democratic instincts of the nation, and to the universally expressed desire of having henceforward a strong and respected government.

"In truth, to satisfy the demands of the moment, by creating a system which reconstitutes authority, without injuring equality, or closing any channel of amelioration, is to lay the true foundations of the only edifice capable of sustaining hereafter the action of a wise and salutary liberty."

This noble and deeply suggestive speech, delivered with much feeling, filled the hearers with sentiments of hopefulness and pleasure which they did not try to suppress. It was often interrupted by bursts of vehement applause.

Next day, Sunday, January 1, 1852, the Cathedral of Notre Dame was ornamented in all conceivable grandeur and splendor. A Te Deum was chanted in thanksgiving for the great events of December the 20th. Louis Napoleon humbly knelt before the Mighty Power that makes and unmakes sovereigns. Invested by France with the right which comes from the people, he earnestly implored for the might which comes from God. After the ceremony, he proceeded in state to the Tuileries, where he was received with all honor, in the hall of the throne, and where, ever since, he has continued to reside.

He was not yet called emperor; but the empire already existed under the name of the French Republic.

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HERE we shall pause. It is perhaps the best stopping place. Our humble narrative, we fear, is already too protracted; and here for the present it should most naturally conclude. So far, if not interesting, it has at least been instructive. It has enabled us to follow, step by step, the career of one of the greatest men of our times. It has shown him to us by turns in circumstances almost as diversified as human life can present. We have seen his birth hailed with salvoes of artillery through the length and breadth of the empire at a period



of its greatest magnificence. We have seen his young intelligence expand amid the glories of the great empire, and beneath the affectionate eye of the great emperor. When the woful day of Waterloo came, we have seen his name denounced, his family banished, and himself condemned to live henceforward in hopeless exile. We have seen him receiving the best of all educations in consequence of this very blow; for, living in a free land, mingling in perfect equality with a free people, he learned what a free man should know, and during the whole course of his studies he was constantly guarded by the love, and trained by the wisdom, of a mother highly gifted by nature and strengthened in prudence by misfortune. We have seen him, led astray, as most young men are, with wild notions of liberty, risk his life in the cause, with difficulty escaping the fate of his elder brother. We have seen him, in his restless desire to attain to something, glooming over old memories, and misled by the discontented state of France, make attempts which, though exceedingly unwise and premature, were still far from being so destitute of all chances of success as many were willing to believe. We have seen him spending his six years of captivity neither in frivolity, indolence, nor despair, but in disciplining his mind and maturing his talents by solid reading, deep study, and severe thought. We have seen him, by a wonderful revolution of fortune, taken as it were from his dungeon, and raised to the highest dignity in France, not in consideration of any acknowledged merit of his own, but through the magic influence which a mighty name still wielded in the hearts of the French people. In this exalted position, we have seen him act his difficult part with extraordinary dexterity; playing faction against

faction, enemy against enemy, and every day growing more and more in the favor of the nation. We have seen that, when affairs had come to such a crisis that another revolution was inevitable, he had the resolution and the skill to execute his bold plan of affording to the people a quiet and thoughtful opportunity of declaring of what nature it was their will that that revolution should be. Finally, we have seen the people, still enthusiastic for his name, but also now fully acquainted with his merits, and recognizing him as the only man able to save the country from the frightful impending dangers, hastening, of their own free and untrammelled will, with an earnestness never exceeded, and in numbers never equalled before in this world, to acknowledge him as their elect, to trust him with their full confidence, and to invest him with every power necessary to insure the tranquillity of their beloved country, to maintain its independence, to increase its glory, and to guide it gradually and safely to the final goal of true and healthful liberty.

Here then is a natural resting place. The actions of the Emperor of the French are still too fresh in our memories to be written with justice, if not to be read with interest.

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#### **Opinions of the Press.**

The book is every way equal to what was expected. It is well written, argumentative, and convincing; and no one, we think, seeking truth, can read it, following step by step the progress of Dr. Ives's mind, without being convinced of the important truths he is led to investigate. We are glad to hear it is meeting with an unprecedented sale, as it will be the instrument of much good. We earnestly recommend it to our readers and all those inquiring after truth. — *Pittsburg Catholic.*

This long and eagerly-expected publication has at length reached the West. The delay in forwarding it arose, as we learn from a note of the publisher, out of the immense and unprecedented demands for it which are reaching him from all parts of the country, and which several printing presses, kept in constant play, have as yet been ineffective to supply. The typography of the work is extremely creditable to Mr. Donahoe, the enterprising publisher. On this point he has left the reader nothing to desire, either as respects clearness and brilliancy of impression, or the neat, compact, and convenient form in which the book is presented to the public.

Of the merits of the work itself we presume we need not speak at length, after the specimen of its style and manner which we gave last week. Written in a tone of rare modesty and translucent candor, it still does not lack that vigor and purity of style, deep research, cogent reasoning, and simple, touching eloquence which might be expected from the reputation for erudition and mental force which Dr. Ives always had among his co-religionists up to the period when he resolved upon the tending sacrifice of which this volume furnishes the reasons. Its publication will show the desperate falseness of the allegation by which the ex-bishop's friends endeavored to account for his conversion, and which it is probable themselves never believed. The *Protestant Churchman*, we observe, in noticing the work, says it "should like to see those bishops, who pronounced Dr. Ives mad, undertake to refute this book."

This book will probably have a larger sale than any controversial work ever published in this country. The copies for sale at the office of the *Vindicator* are already nearly all gone; but a further supply will soon reach us. — *Detroit Catholic Vindicator.*

#### **Protestant Opinions.**

The *Newport (R. I.) News* thus criticizes the book: — "This will be a work of exceeding interest both to Catholics and Protestants, as Dr. Ives gives his reasons for leaving the Episcopal Church and entering the Catholic Church. In whatever light Protestants may regard this change in the religious opinions of the author, they certainly cannot charge him with any ambitious, dishonest, or unholy motive, because, as far as distinctions on earth are concerned, he had gained all that man can have in the ministry, as far as preferment is concerned in the Episcopal Church. He was one of its bishops for more than twenty years; and, in entering the Church of Rome, he acquires no distinction. He, being a married man, cannot ever be a priest in that Church. Under these circumstances, we think that all must at least give him credit for honesty and sincerity in the course which he has pursued. The work is carefully and elaborately written, and indicates throughout the fervency of a Christian spirit. We commend it to the perusal of all Christians, that they may fully comprehend the motives which induced the step which the author has taken, and the reasons which led him into the Catholic Church."

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The author of this excellent tale is evidently an earnest man. Impressed with a strong sense of the wrongs which the poor Irish at service too often endure, he has aimed to depict these in such a manner as may excite the attention of careless employers, and point out to the sufferers themselves the rewards of patience and perseverance. The characters are very well sketched, though the incidents recording them are not very artistically arranged. The book is a prize to our Irish Catholic readers, notwithstanding its little defects of form. — *Catholic Telegraph.*

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We were in England when this work first appeared, and well remember the sensation it caused. The former friends of Mr. Newman were greatly scandalized as well as offended by it. It proved, they said, such a *deterioration* on his part. That he should absolutely jest at the ecclesiological and liturgical fopperies of their party, astounded them. They could never believe Newman would sink so low. We knew one young man, who had been a great admirer of Mr. Newman, who wrote an answer to the twenty-seven questions which Willie sent Reding. He was going to publish the answer in the *English Churchman*, we believe; but somehow one or two points were not quite clear to him, and he reserved the paper till he had examined them a little further; he pursued the examination till he became a Catholic. There never was a livelier or truer picture of any state of society than "Loss and Gain" gives of the university class in England. Dealing largely in satire, it has the great merit of absolute freedom from exaggeration, and is at the same time one of the wittiest stories, and the most devoid of malice that ever was penned. It is addressed to a very high order of mind — too high for mere popularity; but it will gain admirers forever, we should think; yes, even when it is itself the only relic (like Fielding's novels in profane literature) of the social state it describes. — *Metropolitan Catholic Magazine.*

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